



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





91.32

Oxford University **EETS es. 32**
ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY
Manor Road
Oxford OX1 3UQ
Telephone: (0865) 249631

Opening Hours:

Monday to Friday: 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. in Full Term.

(9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. in Vacations.)

Saturday: 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in Full Term only (closed in Vacations).

The Library is closed for ten days at Christmas and at Easter, on
Encaenia Day, and for six weeks in August and September.

*This book should be returned on or before the latest date
below:*

CANCELLED

03 DEC 1992

21 JAN 1993

18 FEB 1993

10 MAR 1993

04 DEC 1993

*Readers are asked to protect Library books from rain, etc.
Any volumes which are lost, defaced with notes, or otherwise
damaged, may have to be replaced by the Reader responsible.*

England
in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. xxxii.

1878.

BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 53 MOHRENSTRASSE.
NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

PART I.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

WITH AN APPENDIX, GIVING AN EXTRACT FROM

SIR WILLIAM FORREST'S

Pleasant Boesge of Princelie Practise,
1548.

EDITED BY

SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE B.A.,

AUTHOR OF "TURNER'S FIVE HUNDRED FOUNTAINS OF GOOD HUSBANDRY."

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCLXXVIII.

Extra Series,

NO. XXXII.

BUNGAY: CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>§ 1. <i>The family of Starkey</i>, p. iii</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Starkey appointed proctor at Oxford</i>, p. vii</p> <p>§ 3. <i>Presented to the living of Great Mongeham</i>, p. viii</p> <p>§ 4. <i>Applies to Cromwell to be appointed to some office at Court</i>, p. viii</p> <p>§ 5. <i>Appointed king's chaplain</i>, p. x</p> <p>§ 6. <i>Dr Sampson's book on the divorce</i>, p. xi</p> <p>§ 7. <i>Starkey's first letter to Pole</i>, p. xii</p> <p>§ 8. <i>His second letter</i>, p. xviii</p> <p>§ 9. <i>His third letter</i>, p. xxiii</p> <p>§ 10. <i>Letter to Cromwell</i>, p. xxvii</p> <p>§ 11. <i>Fourth letter to Pole</i>, p. xxvii</p> | <p>§ 12. <i>Pole's book, De Unione Ecol.</i>, p. xxxi</p> <p>§ 13. <i>Starkey's remonstrance with Pole</i>, p. xxxiv</p> <p>§ 14. <i>Letters to Cromwell</i>, p. xxxix, xl</p> <p>§ 15. <i>Last letter to Pole</i>, p. xlv</p> <p>§ 16. <i>Letter to Henry on the use to be made of the revenues of suppressed monasteries</i>, p. xlviii</p> <p>§ 17. <i>Appointed to Corpus Christi Chapel, Cannon Street</i>, p. lxiii</p> <p>§ 18. <i>Starkey's death</i>, p. lxxv</p> <p>§ 19. <i>Letter to Cromwell</i>, p. lxxi</p> <p>§ 20. <i>Dedication of the Dialogue to Henry</i>, p. lxxiii</p> <p>§ 21. <i>Extract from Becon's Jewel of Joy</i>, p. lxxvi</p> |
|---|---|

BEYOND what we can glean from a very few public documents and his own statements in his letter to Cromwell, we know little of the life of Thomas Starkey. Practically, the history of his career is little more than the history of the negotiations between Henry VIII. and Reginald Pole with reference to the support which the king hoped to receive from the latter on the two important questions of the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine, his brother's widow, and the supremacy of the Pope in England. For nearly two years did these negotiations last, and during these two years Starkey was the sole medium of intercommunication. At the time of their commencement he had only lately been appointed chaplain to the king, and with their failure he disappeared from public life, retiring in all probability to the church living which had in December 1536 been bestowed on him, and, as he tells us, utilizing his leisure moments in the composition of his *Dialogue* and other works.

§ 1. Of Starkey's birth and family we know nothing for certain. He

was in all probability descended from a family of high standing and considerable local influence in Cheshire.¹ Of this family we find four distinct branches, but to which of these Thomas Starkey belonged I am unable satisfactorily to ascertain. The four branches were, (1) the Starkeys of Stretton; (2) of Barnton (Cheshire) and Huntroyde (Lancashire); (3) of Olton or Oulton; and (4) of Wrenbury.

Thomas Starkey may have been brother to Laurence Starkey (mentioned below), who at that time was the representative of the *second* branch of the family; but he certainly could not have been son, since from an *Inquis! post mort.* we find that the latter's eldest son was only 14 years of age in 1547, when his father died.²

It is also certain that he was not the son nor the brother of the Hugh Starkey, the representative of the *third* branch, also mentioned below, for the latter at his death, in 1555, left but one son (illegitimate), Oliver, who afterwards became Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta;³ and his only brother James was buried beside him in Over Church.⁴

Neither did Starkey belong to the *fourth* branch, for that branch was at the time represented by another Thomas, who was 30 years of age in 1528.⁵

The family of Starkey dates back to an early period of English history, for we find that in the reign of King John, Roger Fitz-Alured granted the Manor of Stretton (Cheshire) to Richard Starkey and his heirs, "to hold as freely as any of the said Richard's ancestors ever held the same, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. And Sir Geoffrey de Warburton released unto Thomas Starkey of Stretton, and to his heirs, all his claim in *Villa de Stretton, seu in aliqua Parcella eiusdem, ut de Wardis, Maritagis, Releviis, Exaetis, Homagiis, aut Servitiis, quæ predictus Thomas aut Antecessores sui mihi, seu Antecessoribus meis, facere solebant: Datum 4 die Aprilis, 5 Rich. II. (1382).* Yet, notwithstanding, the said

¹ But there was another or a branch of the same family in Kent, and as Starkey held a living near Deal, as mentioned below, it is just possible he may have belonged to this branch.

² See Ormerod, *Hist. of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819, I. 474.

³ Ormerod, II. 103, 104.

⁴ Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 719.

⁵ Ormerod, III. 205.

Thomas and his heirs shall pay yearly to the said Sir Geoffrey and his heirs one pair of white gloves on Easter-day for all service."¹

Sir Humphrey Starky, Kt, who belonged to this branch, was Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, appointed 15 June, 1 Edward V., and held the office for some years.²

In 1509 we find an order for Hugh Starkey to be one of the king's sergeants-at-arms,³ and we frequently meet with his name afterwards in the State Papers. Thus, on the 7th January, 1514, we find a lease granted to Hugh Sterkeye, sewer of the Chamber, for 41 years of the Manor of Frodesham, Cheshire, from Michaelmas, 4th Henry VIII., at an annual rent of £48;⁴ and on 22nd January, 1517, the king granted to the same Hugh Starky the forfeited possessions of Roger Wodehowse in Chester, Salop, or elsewhere, of the annual value of £8, lately held by William Smyth from Henry VII., at the rent of one red rose payable at Midsummer. He died in 1555, and was buried in Over Church, Cheshire, which he had restored in 1543, and in the south aisle of which is a window to his memory with his portrait in armour.⁵

A John Sterkey is mentioned amongst the royal officers of the "Hall" as Surveyor.⁶

The name of Laurence Starkey occurs very frequently in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and he appears to have been a person of some considerable importance. He was trustee of the lands of Edward Stanley, Lord Montegle;⁷ in correspondence with Cromwell and Wolsey; and, as he states in one letter, High Sheriff of the County of Lancashire for the year 1524.⁸

On 18th June, 1522, we find a petition presented from the Convent of St Leonard's, Stratford-at-the-Bowe, London diocese, for assent to the election of Eleanor Sterkey, nun, as prioress, *vice* Helen Hillard,

¹ *Historical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, collected by Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., London, 1673, pp. 353, 354.

² Ormerod, II. 105.

³ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, I. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. 719; see also II. pt. II. p. 1488.

⁵ Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, II. 103.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, &c.*, II. 1549.

⁷ *Ibid.* IV. pt. III. p. 2598.

⁸ *Ibid.* IV. pt. I. p. 111.

deceased;¹ and on the 28th of the same month a *significavit* from William Haryngton, LL.D., Canon and Residentiary of St Paul's, and official of the spirituality of the see of London for William, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his confirmation of Eleanor Starkey as prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Leonard's, and praying for restitution of the temporalities.² This is followed on the 28th July by a writ to the Escheator of the Counties of Essex and Herts for the restitution of the temporalities on the election of Eleanor Starkey.³

On the 12th June, 1517, an annuity of 10 marks was granted to Thomas Starke out of the lordship of Montgomery, Kery, and Kydyowyn, parcel of the earldom of March, his patent of the 6th February, 4th Henry VII., being invalid by the act of resumption; and on the same date we find a petition from this same person, described as of Wrenburye, Cheshire, to Sir John Danney and Robert Blagg, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, stating that Henry VII. had for his services "at his first entry into this his realm" granted him an annuity of 10 marks out of the earldom of Marche at Montgomerye, as appears by the king's confirmation of the grant, but that Sir Richard Herberd, the receiver there, owed the petitioner £22 13s. 4d. arrearages, and refused to pay, although ordered to do so by Sir J. Dauncy and Robert Blagg. The petitioner, therefore, prayed them to summon Herberd before them, and compel him to pay the said arrearages.⁴

There is also a second petition from the same to the same, stating that Sir Richard Herberd did not appear before them, either at Hilary term or on the octaves of St Trinity last, though commanded to by their privy seals, and praying for a privy seal of proclamation, ordering Herberd to appear on pain of his allegiance.

Probably it is this same Thomas Starkey whom we find set down for an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. amongst the king's "officers in Wales" in the year 1526.⁵

When Thomas Starkey, the author of the *Dialogue*, was born we have no information, but as he was, in all probability, some years

¹ *Letters and Papers, &c.*, III. p. 986, No. 2331.

² *Ibid.* p. 997, No. 2353.

³ *Ibid.* p. 1015, No. 3407.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 1072.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 873.

older than his friend and fellow-traveller Reginald Pole, who was born in 1500, we shall not be far wrong in assigning as the approximate date of his birth the beginning of the last decade of the 15th century.

The services of the family from which I assume him to be descended gave him an introduction to society, but it is only from his letters that we can gain any information as to the manner in which his earlier years were passed. His own words, in his letter to Cromwell asking to be nominated to some appointment in the king's service, seem to imply that he was educated at Oxford, but his name does not occur in *Anthony a Wood*. If the will mentioned below be Starkey's, he probably was educated at Magdalen College.

In company with Reginald Pole he travelled on the Continent, where, especially in Italy, he appears to have made numerous friends, amongst the learned men of the time, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence till the close of his life. In the Cott. MSS., Nero B. VI. and VII., are numerous letters addressed to him in Latin and Italian from friends thus made. He had evidently profited by his studies, and was welcomed and esteemed accordingly by the *savants* of Italy. Of the dates of his departure from and return to England we know nothing, but he had certainly returned, as will be seen below, before the end of 1522.

§ 2. The first certain mention of Starkey in any public document which I have been able to discover is contained in a letter from Wolsey to the University of Oxford, dated 21st May, 1522, in which he recommends for proctors *Thomas Starke* and Lawrence Barbar.¹

On the 9th October following the University reply to this letter, stating that they have complied with the request for the appointment of Lawrence Barbar and *Thomas Starke* as proctors, and beg that they may retain for a time their usual form of electing proctors, at least until Wolsey has sufficient leisure for making more suitable arrangements for the University. They acknowledge their great obligations to his bounty, and add that if by his influence their

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 960.

University may be exempted from contributing to the loan¹ their obligations will be the greater.²

§ 3. On the 31st July, 1530, Starkey was presented by Archbishop Warham to the living of Great Mongeham, diocese of Canterbury, "per resignationem Magistri Thome Lupestt, A.M., ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem."³ This living he held till his death.

Great Mongeham is in the hundred of Cornilo, lathe of St. Augustine, and two miles from Deal. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the living, which is stated to have been of the annual value of £20 1s. 6d., was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

§ 4. From this time we do not hear anything of Starkey till some time towards the close of 1534, when we find him writing to Cromwell, with whom he was already acquainted probably through Cardinal Wolsey, asking him to use his influence to procure for him some

¹ For the war.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III. pt. 2.

³ *Registers of Canterbury Diocese* (preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library), Archbishop Warham, leaf 402, back.

⁴ By the kindness of Col. Chester I have been furnished with a copy of the will (recorded in Book "Pynnyng," at folio 6) of a certain *Thomas Starkey*, Clerk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 2nd May, 1544, but dated 25th August, 1538, which is, as nearly as we can judge, exactly the date of Starkey's death. In this will the testator desires to be buried in the "Chauncell of Northe Petherton at the discretion of the curat there," and leaves "towards the reparation of the Churche of North Petherton, vi^s." The will proceeds—"Item I geue to my father Thomas Starkey, in parte of recompense of his greate cooste and chargies vpon my bringing vpp, furthring me in good lernyng, xli^l. Item I geue to the veray honnerable and my singulier good lorde, my lorde Montague, foure pounds to bie hym a hagg." To his brother, "John Starkey," he leaves his "best gowne," and all his books he bequeaths to a Dr Wotton, who is "to take certeyne to his children as he shall thinke profitable to farther theyme in tyme to come to theire lernyng," and the rest, some are to go to "the furnysshynge of the library of Magdalen College," and some to be given to poor scholars. To the family of the Vicar of North Petherton he bequeaths "for theire diligent payne and labours by nighte and day taken abowte me in myne infirmitie and sicknes, foure markes of lawfull money of England," from which it would seem that the testator had been, and was then, residing at North Petherton, by the vicar of which place, Sir John Bulen, the will is witnessed. If this be the will of our author, it appears tolerably certain that he was the son of the Thomas Starkey already (p. vi.) mentioned as in receipt of a pension for his services to Henry VII. It is difficult to see what connection Starkey had with North Petherton, or why the will executed in August, 1538, should not have been proved till 1544.

appointment in the king's service, and giving a short sketch of his life and studies.

We are enabled to fix the date of this letter with tolerable certainty by Starkey's own words in his first letter to Pole, and his dedication of his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII. (printed below), in which he says :—"forasmuch as hyt pleydyd your hyghnes, *schortly aftur I was admyttyd to your gracye seruyce*, to commytt vnto me the wrytyng of your commandment and request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame."

The following is his letter to Cromwell :—

(Harl. 283, leaf 129.)

Syr, the grete gentylnes of you so manyfestely schowyd toward me, wythe the contynuaunce of such a benivolent mynd in setting forward my purpos, gyuith me yet a lytyl more boldnes to trowbul you wyth the redyng of thys scrole, besechyng you of your patyence therin, whyle I a lytyl more at large schow to you my mynd & purpos, the wyche I had thought to haue downe thes days past presently before you, yf I myght haue found you at a conuenient leysor to the heryng of the same, for gladly I wold that you schold a lytyl more playnly know wyth what hart & mynd I wold serue the kyng wythal. And fyrst, for as much that you may perauenture iuge, that I, mouyd only by the hygh authoryte wherin hyt hathe pleyd the kyngys hyghnes most worthyly to set you, so much desyre by your specyal preferment to be set forward to the kyngys seruyce now at thys tyme, I schal besech you of your gentylnes not to take me so, for, albe-hyt that by your authoryte I wyl not deny I am somewhat mouyd in dede, yet certaynly thys to you I wyl affyrme, yf ther were not other causys joynyd therto wych more scharpely styr and pryke my mynd then dothe that, I, beyng to you so vnknown as I am, wold neuer haue temptyd nor enterprysyd such a purpos wyth you : for yf I had not found at such tyme as I fyrst salutyd you at home, a synguler humanyte & gentylnes in you, and yf I had not much herd of your gudnes in setting forward at honest purposys, ye and yf I had not seen & perceyuyd your excellent wysedome & your other vertues, most worthy of al hygh authoryte, I thynke I had neuer conceyuyd thys purpos, I thynke I had neuer set my selfe in thys case, wherein my specyal trust ys more to be to you bounden than in the rest of my lyfe wyth any seruyce I can deserue ; for of thys I assure you I am not of so vyle & base of stomake as for to optayne any benefyte wordly, to desyre to be bounden to any man whome I can not wyth hart and mynd reuerently both honoure & loue. Wherfor of thys I schal besech you to be

persuadyd euer surely to haue in me such a hart and stomake as ys conuenient to be in hym, who to you of al other schal be most bounden. And now, Syr, to the intent that you may somewhat perceyue such pore qualytes as be in me, and so therapon wyth your beneuolent mynd you may set forward somewhat better my purpos, I schal breuely schowe vnto you the ordur, processe, & end of al my studya. Fyrst, here in oxforth a grete parte of my youthe I occupyd my selfe in the study of phylosophy, joynyng therto the knolege of both tongys bothe latyn & greke, and so aftur passyd ouer in to Italy, whereas I so delytyd in the contemplacyon of natural knolege—wherin the most parte of men lettryd ther occupye themselfys—that many tymys I was purposed to haue spend the rest of my lyfe holly therin, tyl at the last, mouyd by chrystyan charyte, phylosophy set apart, I applyd my selfe to the redyng of holy scrypture, jugyng al other secrete knolege not applyd to some vse & profyt of other to be but as a vanyte. wherfor in the study of holy letturys certayn yerys I spent, aftur the wyche, by-cause my purpos then was to lyue in a polytyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cyuyle Law, that I myght therby make a more stabyl and sure jugement of the polytyke ordur & custumys vsyd amonge vs here in our cuntrye. aftur thys maner In dyuerse kyndys of studys I haue occupyd my selfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos at the last here in thys commynalty where I am brought forth & borne to employ them to some vse; and though in them I haue not most profytyd, yet dilygence & wyl hathe not lakkyd therto: but what so euer hyt ys that I haue by the gudenes of god attaynyd vn-to I schal occupyd gladly, aftur your jugement & aduyse, apply hyt to the seruyce of our prynce, and therby rekun my selfe to attayne a grete parte of my felicyte. Wherfor I besech you, syr, as you of your only gudnes haue begun, so at your plesure & conuenient lesur to helpe forward thys my purpos, and then schal I be to you more bounden then I am yet to any mortal man lyuyng.

Your assuryd seruant
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed

to Mr Secretary Cromwell touching the course of hys Lyffe, studyes and Travilles. [End of 1534.]

§ 5. In accordance with Starkey's request, Cromwell appears to have used his influence with the king, for we find him in February, 1535, holding the post of chaplain to Henry, who, it would seem, soon entertained a high opinion of him, since within a few months of his appointment he was intrusted with the delicate commission of ascertaining the views of Reginald Pole on the two questions of the legality of the king's marriage with Queen Katherine and of the supremacy of the Pope.

It would be out of place here to give any lengthened account of the events which led to this. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that the Pope, Clement VII., had, on the 23rd of March, 1534, in accordance with the decision of a consistory of cardinals, declared Henry's marriage with Katherine valid and indissoluble; while the parliament in England, on the other side, pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn lawful, and confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English Church, prohibiting every kind of payment to the Pope, and vesting in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes.¹

§ 6. Previously to the introduction of the bills on the subject into parliament, the whole question had been considered by the Privy Council in 1533, when nineteen articles were drawn up,² which were embodied in certain resolutions of the Council on the 2nd December, the first of which runs as follows:—

“Acta in Concilio [i]o Domini Regis, 2ndo Decembris.

“First. That the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr Dean [Dr Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel] and the almoner [Dr Fox] and other Doctors; to search their books and to make an answer again thereupon to the Lords of the Council by Fryday and Saturday next.”³

Dr Sampson accordingly wrote and published a treatise on the question of the supremacy with the following title:—

“Richardi Sampsonis, Regii Sacelli Decani, oratio; qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regie dignitati cum primis ut obediant, quia verbum Dei præcipit: Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo iure divino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita jubet Rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint eos præcipue docet legem divinam contemnere. Non est arge

¹ Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 208.

² See MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 813. The first, which is referred to above, runs as follows:—Fyrate. To sende for all the bisshopes of this realme and speyallye for suche as be nerest vnto the Courte, and to examyn them a-parte whether they by the law of god can prove and iustefie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is aboue the generall counsaile, or the generall counsaile aboue him. Or whether he hathe gyuen vnto him by the law of god any more auctoryte within the realme then ovy other Foreyn Bisshop.”

³ MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 817.

quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Rhoman[um], qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo non homini.

"Hæc est ueritas Dei firmata.

"Londini, in Ædibus Tho. Bertheleti" (no date).

It consists of 14 leaves, 4to, with the colophon—"Thomas Bertheletus Regius Impressor Excudebat. Cum privilegio."

In this treatise Dr Sampson vindicated the king's action in assuming the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," and confuted the claim of the Pope to any jurisdiction in England. He grounded the king's right to supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil, upon the two texts—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God;"¹ and "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be the king, as supreme," &c.² Kings, therefore, he argued, were God's vicars and representatives here on earth, and should be obeyed accordingly; but the Pope had no jurisdiction outside his province, and had no more power in England than the Archbishop of Canterbury at Rome.³

With this treatise the king was greatly pleased, and it was published with his authority and approval, and copies were sent to all persons of importance at home and abroad.

Henry was extremely anxious to have Dr Sampson's book approved and supported by some name of acknowledged standing, and naturally his thoughts were directed towards Reginald Pole, who had now attained to such a position that his opinion would carry the greatest weight, and, more than all others, induce the waverers to give their support to the king.

§ 7. Reginald Pole, the second son of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, was born at Stoverton, or Stourton, Castle, in the year 1500. He had been treated by Henry with especial favour; had been educated at the king's expense; had been, while still a boy, appointed to a rich ecclesiastical benefice, and would doubtless, had his inclination or his views permitted him, have

¹ Romans xiii. 1.

² 1 Peter ii. 13.

³ See Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*

attained to the highest position in the English Church. He had studied at Paris and Padua with such good results that, as he himself in 1536 states in a letter to the king, he, though still a young man, "had long been conversant with old men; had long judged the oldest man that lived too young for him to learn wisdom from."¹ He had not, however, been able to assent to the resolutions of parliament and convocation relative to the divorce of Henry from Queen Katherine, and he had in consequence applied for and obtained leave to reside for a time at Avignon, whence he afterwards removed to Padua. Meanwhile the king's feelings towards him had remained unchanged; the revenues of the deanery of Exeter and his pension were regularly paid to him, and he was exempted specially from the condition required of all holders of ecclesiastical benefices, of swearing allegiance to the issue of Anne Boleyn. To him, therefore, the king's thoughts naturally turned, and in conversation with Starkey he inquired from him what he believed to be Pole's sentiments on the subject of the Pope's supremacy and the divorce, and whether, if applied to, he would be likely to write in favour of Dr Sampson's book. To these inquiries Starkey answered cautiously, that, although he was confident that Pole's hearty desire was to do the king service, yet as to his opinions on these subjects he could say nothing, since Pole had always preserved a strict silence on the point. This answer did not satisfy the king, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to Pole and communicate to him his wishes. Starkey accordingly writes as follows:—

(15 February, 1535.)

(1) Syr, I most hertely commend me vn to you, and where as I haue byn somewhat sloo in wrytyng syne I arrayyd hyther to our custrey, (where as I bere the ayre bettur then I dyd wyth you in Italy) I wyl now my slaknes therin by the lengthe of thys in some parte recompense the wych I trust schal no thyng offend you but bryng to you grete plesure & comfort. Syr, as you know syth our fyrst acquyntaunce & famylaryte many letturys ther hath byn at sundry tymys betwix vs wryten, & much communycacyon ther hath byn also con-

Abstract.

(1) Promises to atone for past remissness in correspondence by the length of this letter, which he entreats Pole to consider seriously

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*, II. 205.

² Harl. MS. 283, leaf 181.

cernyng the Instytution of our lyfys, wyth such fydelite mynystryd apou both partys as was conuenyent to the syncerenes of our hartys & myndys, but yf euer any of thes you haue jugyd to be worthy of remembrance, or yet dow styke in your memory & mynd, I besech you let thes few wordys wych I now to you wryte be put in the nombur of them, wyth gud aduertysement and consyderacyon of the same, for the[y] concerne the hole ordur of your lyfe here aftur to be lade in thys our cuntrey among your natural louerys & frendys. (2) Syr, I was but Late by the synguler gentylnes of Maystur Secretary, was gudnes bothe toward me & also to you ys so sonke in to my brest, that duryng my lyfe I schal euer reken my selve next to our prynce aboue al other most faythfully to hym bounden, for in the court to the kyngys seruyce and by hys most louyng commendacyonyssograciously of hys hyghnes acceptyd & admyttyd that schortly aftur hyt plesyd the same to cal me to hys presence, and ther of you, of your studys, and of your sentence & opynyon in hys gracys most weyghty causys here late defynynd, most louyngly many thyngys to demande; to the wych I made such answere, as euer I haue jugyd conuenyent to be made before the maiesty of a prynce; that ys, such thyngys as I knowe manyfest & true playnly to affyrme, and such wherof I stond in dowte by coniecture only to reherce: and so your mynd, hart & desyre to dow hys grace true & faythful seruyce, wych I know no other wyse then I know myn owne, I boldly dyd affyrme, but as touchyng your opynyon in hys gracys late defynynd causys, one of the matrimony, the other concernyng the authoritye of the pope, for as much as you euer haue vsyd thys prudent sylence neuer to dysclose your sentence & mynd but in tyme & place, I coude not of your opynyon any thyng therin playnly affyrme, but yet thys to hys hyghnes I sayd & suerly I thought, that as fer as your lernyng & jugement, wych I estymyd by tyme & dilygent study somewhat was alteryd & incresyd, also touchyng the dycernyng betwyx goddys law & mannys wold streche & extend, al your powar & al such knolege & lernyng as by the gudnes of god & hys gracys lyberalyte you had obtaynyd & got, to the mayntenyng of such thyngys as hys gracys wysedome by court of parlyament therin had decred, you wold gladly confer to the honowre of hys hyghnes & welth of hys reame. (3) thys much I sayd, thys fer I went, but hys grace not satysfyd therwyth, desyryng to have your sentence therin playnly declaryd, commandyd me thys now to wryte to you, that hys pleasure was that you schold lyke a lernyd man, al assertyon by any cause rysyng set asyde, in thos ij causys

Abstract.

(2) Has been appointed chaplain to the king, who had questioned him as to Pole's opinion respecting the divorce, &c., to which he had answered that Pole had never openly declared his opinion, but that he felt confident that his earnest wish was to please the king. (3) Henry, not satisfied with this, had ordered him to desire Pole to

pondur and wey the nature of the thyngys as they be in them selfe, and puttyng a-parte al sucessys & daungerouse effectys wych of them may insue, leuyng al such thyngys to hys gracys wysedome & hys pollycy, declare your sentence truly & playn wythout colour or cloke of dysymulatyon, (wych hys grace most pryncely abhorryth,) not wylling you of thes thyngys to make any grete volume or boke but breuely to geddur the most effectual resonys wych in your stomake be of most weyght, & them to set forth aftur your playn fascyon & maner of wrytyng. this was hys gracys plesure & commandement that I schold to you wryte, wych I haue as nere as my memory wold serue me therin truly & faythfully now to you exerc[y]syd. (4) now, syr, considur and prudently wey how pryncely a request this ys of oure prynce, and then I am sure you wyl imploy your selfe wyth al dylygence & study to satisfye hys nobul desyre, to the wych also mastur secretary, (whose most louyng gudnes toward you gyuyth place to no man) most gently doth exhort you, wylling you also in any case, what so euer your sentence in thes causys schal be, to vse your wont & custumyd playnes wyth prudent symplycyte, and me apon hys behalfe this to certyfye you, that in case be your lernyng & iugement in thes materys of weyght wold strech & extend to the satysfying of the kyngys desyre & mynd, that then your retorne hyther to your cuntrey schold be gretely to the kyngys plesure, to your owne comfort, & much profyt to the rest of your frendys; ye and yet ferther, yf so be that your knolege & lernyng wold not serue you to this purpos & request of the kyng, yet notwythstondyng wold he aduyse you, of a tendur & louyng mynd, to prepare yourselfe at your conuenient leser toward your cuntrey, dowtyng no thyng but [th]at the kyngys hyghnes in other hys causys & hys affayrys schal vse your seruyce & most louyng & seruyسابul mynd. for sory he ys that ther among straungerys wythout profyt to your cuntrey your vertues schold be so vturly drownyd & lyke as in a dreame vanysch away. (5) wherby, syr, you may playnly perceyue the gentilnes of hys stomake & synguler gudnes to al men of honesty, wych to you almost vnacquaynted & of smal famylaryte beryth suche mynd, mouyd only by the opynyon of vertue, wych to hym fame hath reportyd, in so much that this he wyllid me now by my lettury of hys gudnes and beneuolent mynd, so to assure you, that in al such thyngys as myght touche your preferment to my lady your mother & my lord your brother whome nature so straitly byndyth only he wold gyue place: wherin he

Abstract.

state in writing briefly, but openly and sincerely, his opinion on the two points. (4) Has been further desired by Cromwell to assure him that, should his opinion be favourable to the king, his return to England would be very welcome; but that in any case he is to prepare to return, as the king would be glad of his advice and assistance in other weighty matters. (5) Assures him that Crom-

STARKEY

b

lu

schowyth so gentyl a stomake that I dare thys boldly now say that, yf euer hereafter hyt schalbe your chaunce presently here of thys mynd in hym experience to take, you schal as I dow for hys vertues & not only for hys authoryte haue hym in stabyl & reuerent loue, such ys hys wysedome & in materys of state hys hygh pollycy. and thus now you haue hard the most prudent aduyse & synguler beneuolence of mastur secretary, to the wych I dowte not but that wyth grete gladnes you wyl apply yourselfe, wylling therby to satysfye our pryncys plesure & desyre. And now, syr, for by-cause syth our last departure out of our cuntrey lytyl communycacyon concernyng thes materys hathe byn betwyx vs had, I wyl now adioyne thes few wordys vn to you. (6) Pondur you wel thys leuetycal law & how hyt ys rotyd in the law of nature, and how by general conseyll hyt hath byn many tymys declaryd & authorysyd therby, and forther how apoun the other syde the sklendurnes of thys long vsurpyd & abusyd authoryte of the pope, wych by pacyence of pryncys, simplycte of the pepul, & ambycouse auaryce of hys predecessorys, in processe of tyme by lytyl & lytyl ys growen to thys intollerabul iniquyte, and then I thynk that you schal see in thes causys the jugyd truth & playn equitye. But al thys I leue to your owne consideracyon & jugement, praying to hym, of whome to al men cumyth al lyght, that by hys lyght & grace you may see the truth, & so then to set hyt forth that hyt may be comfort to our prynces, plesure to your selfe and to al other here your louarys & frandys. And thus now, syr, I wyl make an end, fynychyng my letturys wyth comfortabul newys that al such rumor & fame wych by men of corrupt jugement not hauyng dyscretioun to juge & dyscerne betwyx veray & true relygyon & lyght & false superstycioun syth was in Italy you dyuulgyd, ys viturly false & ful of vanyte. (7) For of this dowte you nothyng, that albehyt apoun many resonabul & iuste causys our most nobul prynce hathe wythdrawen hymselfe from the popys authoryte, yet from the certayn & sure groundys of scripture hys grace in no poynt ys slyde, no nor yet from the lawys nor ceremounys of the church, the wych yet stond in ful strength & authoryte; and so the[y] schal boldly I dare affyrme, vntyl such tyme that to hys hyghnes & to hys most wyse conseyll hyt schal appere expedyent them to abrogate & other to substytute by commyn assent more agreabul to thys tyme and to the nature of our men, & also to our hole cuntrey more conuenient. here ys no thyng downe wythout due ordur & resonabul mean; here ys touchyng

Abstract.

well is prompted only by a sincere love for him. (6) Expresses his confidence that Pole, on consideration of the matter, will see the truth to be on the king's side. (7) Assures Pole that there is no truth in the report that the king had separated himself from the Church of Rome in points of doctrine, or had ordained new rites and ceremonies. Had it been so he himself would never have entered the king's service.

relygion nothyng almost alteryd at al but that wych was of al other most necessary, wych ys, as I trust, & schalbe a veray ground & a foundatyon to cyuyle ordur & a true & ryght pollycy. thys ys the state here, and of thys one thyng I dow you assure, yf I had found truth in dede thes thyngys wych by myareport ther wyth you were commonly sayd, as that our prynce schold be slypt also from the groundys of scripture, from the honowre of the sacramentys, & from al the commyn Lawys & holsome ceremonys of the church wythout ordur, I wold neuer haue byn so wythout sense or stomake of an honest man, as at thys tyme to haue sought to entur to hys seruyce; for the desyre wych I haue long nuryshyd in my brest to serue thys our mastur & prynce ys in thys stabyl, & I trust euer schalbe, in hys seruyce to serue god & my cuntrey, to the wych purpos the rest of my lyfe I wyl now dedycate to hys grace & wyth such hart & mynd serue hym wythall as ys conuenient to a true faythful & chrystyan subiect toward hys most nobul & catholyke prynce: thys ys my mynd & I am sure the same ys yourys, the wych I trust in factys you schal haue place schortly to declare & thys I commyt you to god. At London the xv of February,

By yourys assuryd,
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed,

Thomas Starkey to his frend in Italy wishing him to geve his opinyone to the kinges grace touching his oppinyone for the Altering of Relygeon and the Aboliashing of the popes Authoritye.

The bribe, however, thus plainly offered to Pole did not produce its effect so soon as the king expected. Writing on the 12th April, Pole merely acknowledged the receipt of Starkey's letter, excusing the delay in answering it by the plea that it had come to him by way of Florence, and had been delayed on the road. He promised, however, that he would with all diligence apply himself to the consideration of the subject, and endeavour to satisfy the king's request as stated by Starkey; namely, that he would "in few wordys, clerly & playnly, without coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon," declare his opinion on the matters in question.

Starkey, who evidently had begun to feel ill at ease in consequence of the non-receipt of any answer to his letter, felt relieved at this explanation, but lost no time in pressing the matter on Pole, and supporting the views expressed by him in his former letter by additional arguments. But this was not the sole nor indeed the principal object of this second letter. More especially was he anxious

to explain to Pole certain events which had in the interval occurred in England, and which were liable to be misrepresented abroad.

The most important of these was the execution, on the 5th of May, of certain monks of the Charterhouse and others for refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of the king's supremacy, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the Pope was Antichrist. The system adopted with regard to them was simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged. Other executions followed on the 18th June.

§ 8. Such an event as this was eminently calculated to excite the indignation of the Court of Rome, more especially as it would in all probability be greatly exaggerated and misreported. With the view, therefore, of acquainting Pole with the true facts of the case, on which he could speak with authority (having been, as he tells Pole, one of those sent by Cromwell to try to persuade Reynolds to give way and acknowledge the king's supremacy), and of freeing his mind from the ill effects of such misrepresentations as might have reached him, Starkey writes as follows: ¹—

(End of May or June 1535.)

(1) Syr, I am glad that at the last, by your letturys of the xij of Apryle to Johan Walker, we haue hard of the receyte of such letturys as were wryte vn to you concernyng the kyngys plesure; for much I maruelyd that of thys long tyme I hard no thyng of the delyuerance of the same, wych I now perceyue was by cause the letturys cam to you by the way of Florence. but how so euer hyt was that they were kept from you, glad I am that at the last they are arryuyd to your handys, and much more glad that by the ² few wordys you wrote in hast I perceyue you wyl wyth al dylygence apply your selfe to satysfye the kyngys most nobul request & plesure, wych was, in few wordys clerly & playnly, wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon, to schow your sentence in hys lately defynynd causys, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl dow wyth glad hart and mynd, for yf I know you wel in such causys you wyl not dyssymbul wyth a kyng (from the wych dyssymulacyon I neuer see to thys day wyth any man a mynd more abhorryng): therfor what so euer your sentence schalbe in the materys requyryd I boldly haue affyrmyd, both to the kyngys hyghnes & also to Maystur Secretary,

Abstract.

(1) Is glad to see by Pole's letter of 12th April that he promises

¹ MS. Cleop. E. VI., leaf 358.

² MS. they.

that hyt schalbe vnfaynyd & pure, wythout cloke of dyssymulacyon, of the wych syncere jugement in you the kyng ys desyrouse by-cause perauentur in some other hys grace hath byn therin deceyuyd.

(2) Syr, of the inclinatyon of your mynd in thys behalfe, though the ful declaratyon you reserue to long leyser, yet in some parte to Maystur Secretary by your next letturys you may sygnifye, when you make answeare to hys letturys dyrectyd to you, the wych I am sure before thys tyme by the ambassador of Venyce are come to your handys. And, syr, as touchyng the mater of the popys authoryte, we here, your frendys, put no dowte but therin you schal to the ful satisfactyon of the kyngys mynd see the jugyd truthe: for neuer can I thynke, when I consydur your jugement and lernyng, that you can be of thys sentence that such a hede, or such superyoryte schold be of the Law of God & to the saluatyon of man of hys necessitye, the wych sayn Jerome playnly affyrmyth to be constytute in *remedium scismatis* & not to be of such necessite (in *epistola ad euagrum*).

(3) And yf I haue any Iugement in any other kynd of letturys or dyuynyte thys I dare say, that thys superyoryte of long tyme gyuen to the pope only by the patyence of pryncys *et tacito quodam christiani populi consensu*, by proceesse of tyme ys growen in as a thyng conuenient to the conseruatyon of the chrystyan vnyte, but in no case to be of such necessitye, that, wythout the same, chrystyan myndys may not attayn to theyr saluatyon nor kepe the spiriual vnyte: ye and yf you wey the mater wel I thynke you schal ferther fynd thys superyoryte, as hyt hath byn of many yerys vsyd, nothyng to be conuenient at al to the conseruatyon of the polytyk vnyte, the wych thyng as you know bettur than I, to whome storys are bettur knowen, hath byn the gretyst brake that in memory we haue to al chrystyan cyuylite; for what chrystyan pryncys haue we who one a-gayn a nother hath not drawen theyr swordys for the mayntenance of thys authoryte? And dayly I besech hym that gouernyth al that in our days we see not the same; but aftur my pore fancy bettur hyt ys though hyt be wyth some daungere, to cut vp such a rote of sedycyon in al chrystyan cyuylite, then let hyt remain to the contynual destructyon of our posteryte. Thes thyngys I am sure you see wyth a hygher & deper consyderatyon then I can attayn vn-to, wher-by you schal I trust in thys behalfe satisfye the kyngys mynd & plesure. For sory hys hyghnes wold be to see you not to reche vn-to so manyfest a truthe, (as I haue perceuyd of hys grace at sundry tymys when hyt hath plesyd hys hyghnes to talke of you to the declaratyon of hys nobul affecte wych he beryth toward you).

Abstract.

to endeavour to satisfy the king's request. (2) He and all Pole's other friends are confident that the result of his examination of the subject will be to the king's satisfaction. (3) Declares his own conviction that the supremacy of the Pope is not essential to man's salvation,

(4) And as touchyng the mater of the fyrst maryage, I dowte not also but when you ley togyddur wythout any affectyon the weyght of such maryage betwyx brother & systur, & the sklendurnes of such powar as the pope had in such causys to dyspense, you schal shortly by your wysedome see of that maryage the inconuenyency, so that in both partys grete hope I haue to see you satysfye the kyngys plesure and mynd, and then shortly aftur wyth grete comfort both to your selfe & to your frendys so to retorne in to our natyfe cuntry, here to fynysch the rest of your lyfe in quyetnes & tranquyllyte.

(5) And where as sklanderouse fame & mysreport may perauntur put you in suspycyon of the contrary, for as much as before thys I am sure hyt ys blowen abroad in Italy how here are put to deth monkys of the charturhouse, men notyd of grete sanctyte, you schal vnderston[d] in few wordys the truth of the same to the intent you may by the declaratyon therof, as much as lyth in you, stoppe such mysreport as may therby be made to the sklaundyr of our natyon & cuntry. Fyrst you schal vnderston[d] in the laste parlyament an acte to be made that al the kyngys subiectys schold, vnder payn of treson, renounce the popys superyoryte, to the wych acte as the rest of our natyon wyth one consent dyd agre so dyd thes munkys, iij priorys & Raynoldys of Syon, the wych now of late, contrary to theyr othe & also to the acte, retornyd to theyr old obedyence, affyrmyng the same by theyr blynd superstycyouse knolege to be to the saluatyon of man of necessitye, & that thys superyoryte to the pope was a sure truth and manyfest of the Law of god, and a thyng wych was of chryst institute as necessary to the conseruatyon of the spiritual vnyte of thys mystical body of chryst. In thys blyndnes theyr superstycyouse myndys were stablyd, lakkyng iugement to dyscerne the dyuersyte betwyx the vnyte spiritual & the vnyte polytycal, wych they thought schal run to ruyne for lake of thys hede whome they made immedyate iuge vnder chryst, on whose iugement al, as of the vycar of chryst, chrystian men ought of necessitye to hange. In thys opynyon most sturdly stode Raynoldys, whome I haue hard of yore many tymys praysyd, who was so rolyd therin that he could admyt no reson to the contrary. Dyuerse were sent to them in pryson by the kyngys commandement to instruct them wyth the truthe, but in that opynyon both he & the rest were so blyndyd & sturdy that nother they could

Abstract.

but rather a cause of dissension and sedition. (4) As regards the divorce, he is certain that Pole will at once see the impropriety of a marriage between a brother and sister, and that the Pope has no power of dispensation in such cases. (5) As to the execution of the Charterhouse monks, they had been put to death for affirming the Pope's supremacy to be an essential article of belief, contrary to an Act of Parliament lately passed, and were therefore guilty of treason, for

see the truth in the cause, nor yet gyue conuenient obedyence due to such personys, as of them selfe can not see the truthe. Wherfor, accordyng to the course of the law, as rebellys to the same, & dysobedyent to the pryncely authoryte, and as personys wych, as much as lay in them, haue rotyd a sedycyon in thys commynalty, they most justely haue suffryd thys wordly dethe, whose synnys & blyndnes I besech our lord pardon.

(6) Thys ys the truth of thys mater, wherof I can certaynly assure you, for by the lycens & commandement of Master Secretory I was admyttyd to here Raynoldys raysonys, & to confer such lyght as god hath gyuen me in the same cause wyth hym. In whome I promys you I nother found strong rayson to mayntene hys purpus, nor yet grete lernyng to the defence of the same. Wyth hym I conferryd gladly, for sory I was for many causys that a man of such fame as he was here notyd both for vertue & lernyng, schold dye in such a blynd & superstycouse opynyon, but no thyng coud avayle but that he wold in that opynyon as a dysobedyent person to the kyngys lawys suffer hys deth, wyth the other of the same mynd; wherof they them selfe were the cause, in so much that hyt semyd to me they sought theyr owne deth, of the wych no man can be justely accusyd but they themselfe. Thys thyng, syr, as occasyon, tyme & place doth requyre, you may commyn ther, as you schal thynke hyt expedyent, and to such as you may perceyue by myreport are other ways informyd, for thys ys the truth, that I haue brauely touchyd by thes letturys vn to you.

After Starkey had written as above, but, as it seems, before he had despatched his letter, he received a further communication from Pole, dated 22nd April, in which he promises to consider the matter carefully, and to examine into all the ecclesiastical and other authorities on the point. It would seem from a passage in Starkey's reply to this letter that Pole had stated that a couple of months or so would intervene before he could forward his written opinion. To this the king does not appear to have raised any objection, but only to have repeated his wish that Pole would not make any "grete or long volume" on the matter, but state his views as briefly as possible. Starkey accordingly wrote to Pole (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 360).

Abstract.

which, and not for their religion, they were condemned. (6) Of the facts of the case he could speak with authority, having been sent by Cromwell to argue with Reynolds, whom he had found blinded by superstitious obstinacy. He himself regrets the death of these men very much, and hopes Pole will correct any misreport of the matter.

(1) Aftur I had wryte thys much vn to you perceuyng your mynd somewhat of your letturye to Johan Walker, wych were receyuyd apoz Wytson morn, the same day at nyght I receyuyd your letturye to me of the xxij of apryle, the tenoure wherof I haue schowyd to the kyngys hyghnes, who gratefully toke your mynd as I coud perceyue, but somewhat meruelyng that you schold take so much plesure in your quyat & scolastycal studys, as I schowyd hys grace you dyd, wylling you in thes materys requyryd, accordyng to your duty, as wel toward hys hyghnes as toward your custrey, to set aparte al such scolastical respectys, to the declaratyon of your lernyd iugement, wherby you myght in setting forth such a truth *profyt* your custrey, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl, so I affyrmyd, that you wold dow

(2) By al thes ij monethys your sentence schalbe lokyd for, in the declaratyon wherof, as I haue wryte to you before, you schal not nede to wryte anygrete or long volume, but *tempur* your style, as your prudence, lernyng & iugement schal *serue* you therin, in the wych thyng our lord gyue you hys lyght that you may see the sure & certayn truthe: wherof I haue grete hope when I *consydr* the saying of scripture, wherin hyt ys sayd that by puryte of mynd the lyght of truth ys sonyst perceuyd, and your mynd to thys day I haue not yet knowen spottyd wyth any notabul affectyon.

(3) Maystur Secretory also, of hys most gentyl & louyng mynd toward you and of hys grete wyse dome & synguler prudence, wylling you to pondur thys thyng wel, that ys of secrete & quyat studys the vncertayne frute, wych hengyth for the most parte of the blynd Iugement of the redar & of the posteryte, and apou the other syde the wyse & prudent handelyng of controuersys of weyght in thys our present age, to the ordur wherof we in thys tyme specyally be of nature borne & brought forth, as the posteryte to materys of theyr tyme, the close & manifest defynytyon wherof also hathe annexyd and joynyd therto sure & certayn frute wych ys the stablyschyd quyetnes of the commyn wele—by the ponderyng of thys he jugyth in some parte you may be mouyd resonably at the last for a certayn tyme to set aparte your scolastycal studys, to the wych also you may as tyme & occasyon schal *serue* you therto haue recourse agayne.

(4) Maystur Baynton also, vy[ce]chamberleyn to the quene, your old louer & frende, to whome the kyngys plesure ys not vnknownen, aftur most hartye comendatyons, apou hys behalfe wyllid me thys to wryte to you, that you schold wel *consydr*

Abstract.

(1) Acknowledges receipt of Pole's letter of 22nd April, which he had shown to the king, who had expressed his satisfaction at it, but (2) hoped that Pole will not make any great volume on the subject, nor consume too much time in searching into the writings of ancient scholars which were not suited to the altered state of things; in which hope (3) Cromwell and (4) his friend Baynton join, the latter impressing on Pole the nature and extent of his obligations to the king.

how the kyngys hyghnes most graciously serchyth, & euer hath downe, a conuenient mean to set you in such case that he myght accordyng to the fame of your vertues & merytys handyl & intrete you; and ferthermore wel to consydur how much the kyng of hys grete gudnes gyuyng vn-to your lernyng & Jugement, whom he knowyth much wylling to haue your consent in hys grete causys although they be defynyed alre dy, in so much that your jugement therto can lytyl avaunce, except perauentur in some parte to the confirmacyon therof. Thes thynges I was wylyd to wryte vnto you to wryte, wych, though hyt gretely nedyd not at al for bycause you of your selfe are sufficiently styrryd to the fulfylling of the kyngys pleasure therein, yet I jugyd hyt to pertayne to my duty both toward you & toward them to certyfy you therof, wherin I can no more say but pray to god to gyue you such lyght as ys conuenient to that mynd wych labouryth for the enserchyng of the truth.

On the 3rd June Pole wrote again to Starkey. He repeated his promise to give the subject his most careful consideration, and reiterated more strongly his earnest desire and readiness to do all in his power to serve the king and fulfil his pleasure; but he added that in his writing in this cause he would "weigh Scripture, laying apart all authoryte of men." He again excused his delay in answering Starkey's and Cromwell's letters by stating that he had been waiting for further instructions from the latter, which had been sent to him in the charge of the ambassador of Venice, and had been delayed on the road. In all probability, however, the true reason was that in the mean time he had been feeling his way at the Court of Rome. Pole in fact wished, before committing himself to any decided action in favour of either the king's or the Pope's party, to see which side was likely to give him the highest reward for his support. He saw his chance, and he utilized it to the utmost advantage by temporizing with the king while he was making his ground sure at Rome.¹

§ 9. For such a man Starkey was no match in matters of business or diplomacy. Pole's delay in answering his letters he attributed only to a possible unwillingness on the part of the latter to be drawn into

¹ Phillips, in his *History of Reginald Pole*, London, 1767, I. 74, 75, reproduces the story of Henry's having, in 1529, offered Pole the archbishopric of York if he would give his support in favour of the king's divorce, of the rejection of the offer by Pole, and of the subsequent interview between them, with its romantic conclusion—a story which Burnet characterizes as "a romantic adventure, invented by Sanders . . . and mentioned by no contemporary writer."

the matter at all. His mind was therefore considerably relieved on the receipt of Pole's letter with the explanation of the delay, and he at once wrote again, urging the pressing nature of the business, and supporting his view of the subject with additional arguments (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 356) :—

(1 August, 1535.)

(1) Syr, You haue downe wel that by your letturys of the thryd of Iune you haue somewhat more at large openyd your affecte[on] & wyl to *serue* the kyng in the cause of you requyryd. Wherin though of your wyl, wych I know euer to be redy to *serue* the kyng in al poyntys that you may, I dyd no thyng dowte, yet by your long sylence mouyd I coude not but feare lest the cause had lytyl lykyd you, but now I perceyue you haue byn slakker in wrytyng bycause you mor lokyd for ferther instructyon by Mastur Secretorys letturys, wych haue byn longur by the way than the ambassador of venyce at hys departure made to me sure promys they schold; but now you haue al wych haue byn to you wryten in thys cause, hereaftur I schal not cease to loke for your answeare, trustyng that hyt schal be wyth such iugement & graunte as ys conuenient to your lernyng & to the expectatyon that men haue here therof. (2) For syth hyt ys so as by your letturys you declare that wyth al dyligence you wyl wey scripture therin, leying aparte al authoryte of man, I dowte not also but that you wyl wyth lyke Jugement in examynyng of the same put asyde al such preiudicia as by custume and tyme in sympul myndys be reputyd of grete wayght; wherof we haue lamentabul experyence here in our cuntrey, by the blyndnes of many wych lately haue suffryd: hauyng no thyng of moment to lay agayn the authoryte of law, but only long custume, and vsage of many yerys, and auneyent opynyons wherin theyr fatherys haue dyed, they lake the true jugement of polytyke thyngys—wych be of thys nature that of necessity in processe of tyme & in many yerys euer by lytyl & lytyl grow to iniuste extremyte, non other wyse than the body of man by the course of nature euer in tyme fallyth in decay & natural debylete—the wych thyng not wel consyderyd hath causyd dyuerse here of late, not wythout sorow of many honest myndys stubburnely to repugne to the commyn pollycy, whose exampul I am ¹ sure schal wyth you no thyng wey, whome I haue knowen, euer wythout any exteryor & vayn respectes, euer loke wyth a constant & stabyl mynd to truth & honestye: (3) in

Abstract.

(1) Expresses his pleasure at Pole's promise to consider the points as desired, and his professions of anxiety to please the king. (2) Hopes that Pole will enter upon the question with a mind free of all prejudices arising from long custom and use. (3) That the supremacy

¹ Leaf 356, back.

so much that of thys I dow make wyth my selfe almost a sure ground, & of your iugement me semyth am eertayn, that by your dylygent pondering both of storys & scripture in thys behalfe, you wyl soone see how that chrystys doctryne determ[yn]yth no one kynd of pollyceye but in al statys may be stablyschyd & groundyd, so that thys superyoryte & vnyte of God, ys not to be requyryd of necessity, but hangyth only apon mere pollycey, for as much as chryst sayd, *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, & in a nother place as you know, *quis me constituit diuisorem inter vos*, by the refuse wharof, as I take hyt, he wold declare al such thyngys to be left to the gouernance of man and worldly pollycey. (4) Thes thyngys I thynkeschalbesomewhat in your mynd confermyd by the redyng of Marsilius, whome I take, though he were in style rude, yet to be of a grete iugement, & wel to set out thys mater, both by the authoryte of scripture & gud reysouns groundyd in phylosophy, and of thys I pray you send me your iugement. (5) Syr, as touchyng Mister Gaspero, whose excellent vertue & lernyng are to me knowen as they be to you, I can not be but glad; how be hyt I thynke he schal more rather gyue & adde honowre to the ordur, then therof to take any ornament, and yf I had not sure confydence in hys dyuine nature & as you say angelycal, I wold somewhat feare lest by thys dygnyte he schold also conceyue the nature of a cardynal—of whome ther I haue hard many tymys sayd that wyth the hatte wyl remayne neuer nother honowre nor yet honesty—but he by hys synguler vertue may be perauenture a meane to restore to that ordur some dygnyte: but as touchyng thys parte, that yf he were pope as I coniecture truly he schortly schalbe, he¹ schold restore in chrystys church the old vnyte, of thys I haue no expectatyon at al, for that vnyte ys now so open & playn that men I thynke schal neuer in our days deayre hyt to be restoryd agayne aftur that sorte as hyt hath byn veyd. (6) To thys I suppose not only the nature angelycal of mastur gaspero ys not sufficyent, but the angellys of heuyn yf they schold come to prech that superyoryte agayn, of many I thynke they schold scarcely be hard, for so hyt ys iugyd by wyse men to repugne to gud ordur & commyn pollycey, that they seme to lake iugement wych wold by any man haue that to be restoryd agayne. How be hyt of thys now I wyl speke no more, for I dowte not but in weying thys mater you

Abstract.

of the Pope is a matter not of religion but of policy. Christ himself refused all earthly power, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world;" by which He plainly left worldly matters to be regulated by men. (4) In support of his view he refers Pole to Marsilius. (5) Is glad to hear of Gaspero's being raised to the rank of cardinal, but hopes his nature will not change like that of other cardinals, for "with the hat remains neither honour nor honesty." (6) Not even Gaspero, if made Pope, would be able to restore the Pope's authority in

¹ Leaf 357.

schal see thys to be true bettur than I can other conceyue or expresse. (7) And, syr, wher as you wryte that when you wryte to the kyng you wyl wythal make answeere to *mastur* secretorys letturya, me semyth you are ouer alake therin, how be hyt I can not perceyue hys gentylnes to be much offendyd therwyth; he forsyth not much of your answeere to hym, so that to the kyng you make such answeere as may be to the honowre of god, & settyng forth of the trutha, wherby you schal both profyt your cuntrye & bryng much comferte to your selfe & to your louarys & frendys; of thys *mastur* secretory semyth to be desyrouse, wherin you see how much you are to hys gudnes bounden, and not only for thys, but also for other hys grete gentylnes, wych dyuerse ways he hath schowyd & dayly doth to other of your frendys, wych as I take hyt he gladlyer doth for your sake & for the loue wych he beryth to you, conceyuyd by opynyon of such vertues as be reportyd to be in you, wherof I trust at your retorne you schal schow manyfest experyence, the wych I pray god schortly may be to your comfort.

With this letter is a small alip of paper in Starkey's handwriting, which appears from internal evidence to be in all probability his copy of a short letter from Cromwell to Pole enclosed in his own. It runs as under (leaf 357):—

Syr, aftur my most harty recommendatyons thys schalbe in few & schort wordys to requyre, you accordyng to the calling that our lord Jesu Chryst, hath callyd & indeuyd you, that ys to say, as wel wyth the gyft of gud lettures and vnderstandyng as wyth the most excellent gyft of jugement in the same, ye wyl indeur your selfe to make answeere vn-to such thyngys as be contynyed in *mastur* Starkey's lettures to you wrytyn at thys tyme, by the kyng our masturys & soueraynys expresse commandement, & that the same answer may be such & of such grauyte as the lyght & truthe therof may be to the honowre of god & the satysfacyon of hys hyghnes: wherof I assure you I wold be as glad as any parent or frend ye haue lyuyng, not dowtyng in your approuyd wysedome & jugement but that ye wyl extend the gyftys gyuen vn-to you in such wyse and leuyng al your respectys or affectyon, wole so inserch your consyence & jugement for the truth as ye wole both dyscharge your selfe agaynst god & your prynces, in dowyng wherof you schal assurydly dow the thyng much to the increse of your meryte & fame. Wherin, as he that ys your assuryd frend to hys lytyl power, I requyre yow to haue indyf-

Abstract.

England as it had been, no, nor yet an angel from heaven. (7) Hopes Pole will not neglect to answer Cromwell's letters, who has in many ways shown his affection towards him by kindness to his friends.

ferent consyderatyon & so to ordur your selfe therin as the expectatyon of your frendys wythe the jugement of al men that knowyth you may be satysfyd in that behalfe, & thus our lord send you no worse to fare then I wold ye dyd at London.

§ 10. From internal evidence it is clear that it was about this time that Starkey wrote the letter to Cromwell which is printed by Mr Collier in his *Nine Historical Letters* alluded to below. In it he apologizes for not having written before on the plea of an attack of ague. He encloses a "lytyl scrole" which he hopes Cromwell will find time to read; refers to the death of "Raynolds of Sion," and afterwards to Pole, of whom he says, "apon the erth lyvyth not a more syncere and pure hart then hath Mastur pole, & leese spottyd wyth dysymulacyon, therfor, whatsoever Master Pole thynkyth in thes causys the kyng schortly & playnly schal know."

He expresses the hope that Cromwell will "take occasyon to speke wyth the kyngys hyghnes of so pore a man as [he is] to stablysh in hys grace such opynyon of [him] as [his] hart doth deserve . . . for to hys se[r]vyce [he is] mouyd by love & faythful observaunce, & by no wordly benefyte nor wordly avauncementa."

Pole's letters to Starkey had been, it would seem, so skillfully worded that the latter was very confident that the result would be one gratifying to the king, and no doubt he signified as much to his master.

§ 11. But there had been a letter, or rather a treatise, by Pole written, as it would appear from a passage in the following letter from Starkey (see p. xxviii, l. 5, and p. xxx, l. 33), before the king had instructed the latter to write to him asking for his opinion, in which he seems to have discussed the subject more as a matter of policy than of divinity, pointing out the dangers which might possibly arise from the course which had been pursued, but not touching at all on the very points on which the king was most anxious to have his opinion, viz, whether his marriage with Queen Katherine was legal according to divine law, and whether the supremacy which the popes had for so many centuries claimed for themselves was in accordance with the same rule. It was on these points that the king desired his opinion, and not on the probable or possible political results of the course which he had adopted, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to

Pole to this effect. Starkey accordingly wrote in the following terms (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 361) :—

(? — 1535.)

(1) Syr. You wrote before in our pryncys cause of your owne mocyon : wherin you schowyd louyngly the daungerys that myght of hys cause folow, but the mater hyt selfe as hyt ys here by the kyng most sharply jugyd you dyd not almost touche. Wherefor now the kyng, as I haue wryt, requyryth your lernyd Iugement : & that you schold leue your prudent and wytty pollycey tyl you be requyryd. The poyntes be thes, wych though you ryght wel of your selfe know yet I wyl put them a lytyl aftur my mynd before your yea.

(2) An *matrimonium cum relicta fratris*, ab eo cognita,¹ sit iure divino licitum.

In thys and in the rest also, though the kyngys plesure be you schold gyue place to no mannys persuasyon nor authoryte, as I am sure you wyl not ; yet for the loue that I bere vn-to you & for the desyre that I haue that you schold se the luyd truth, I wyl note certayn placys of weyght aftur myn opynyon in thes thyngys to be consydyrd, euer leuyng your owne iugement fre.

(3) And fyrst for thys poynt consydyr how thys law ys rotyd in nature : powder hyt by thys rule yf hyt seme to you gu[de] : al thyng wych byndyth man to the obseruatyon therof : al law wryten put asy[de] for the conseruatyon of the cyuyle polytyke lyfe vnyuersally conuenient to the dygnyte of the nature of man : al such I thynke ys rotyd in the law of nature. Apply thy[s] rule wythout affectyon, & wyth a ryght ye examyne hyt in thys case.

And then for the second poynt, an *lyceat dispensare*, esy I thynke hyt acha[l] be to fynd the popys powar extendyth not therto. And

Abstract.

(1) Has been desired by the king to point out that Pole's answer had not really touched the matter at issue, and to tell him to keep his opinions on the policy of the king's acts till they are asked for. (2) Again states the questions to be answered : viz, (a) Is marriage with a brother's widow lawful? (3) Arguments against it : 1st, the law of nature ; 2ndly, the Pope's power of dispensation did not, and ought not to, extend to such a case. Such power was a usurpation on the part of the Popes, and had never been granted to them by any general

¹ Starkey here appears to take as an undisputed fact that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. But this is very doubtful. Arthur was married on November 6, 1501, and died in the beginning of the following April, when he was only 14 years of age. From the *Simancas State Papers, Rolls Series*, ed. Bergenroth, it is clear that Henry VII. himself did not consider that the marriage had been consummated, as it appears that, in order not to have to restore Katharine's dowry, he proposed to marry her himself after his son's death.

though hyt were expedyent for the wordly pollycey for to haue dispensatyon, as hyt was perauenture in the kyngys ca[use], yet hyt ys not expedyent any one man to haue such powar to breke such Law so rotyd in nature, and apon thys ground hyt apperyth to me fer[ther] tha[t] the pope schold not haue powar not only to dyspense wyth any law so rotyd in nature, but also that he hath not powar (nor conuenient hy[t] ys that he schold haue): ye though he were made hede of the churc[h] powar to dyspense wyth lawys made in general conseyll, catholyke lawys, & vnyuersal groundys, ordeynyd for the conseruacyon of chrystyan lyfe in al chrystys churche, and though he hathe vsyd the contrary, hyt was, I thynke, a mys vse & vsurpyd by the reason wherof now hyt ys spyd, now hyt doth fal, now hyt ys plukkyd iustaly away.

Loke also & pondur thys whether euer the hole authoryte of making, of abrogatyng, of dyspensyng wyth catholyke lawys & vniuersal groundys of chrystian luyng, were euer gyuen & translated to the pope by any law wryten in general conseyll, wch were necessary to fynd yf we schold attribute such authoryte. as to the emperourys we fynd *legem regiam qua potestas senatus & populi erat in principem collata*.

(4) The second pryncypal mater:—an *superioritas quam multis in seculis romanus pontifex sibi vindicauit sit ex iure diuino*. Here you must way the placys of the gospel & scripture, wherin I thynke you schal fynd non manifestly prouyng that; the commyn placys you know how y^e they are vnderstood contrary therby dyuerse & many, as when the dyscypelys of chryste contendyd for superiorite you know what chryst sayd; you know how poule confessyth [he] knyoth only christ for heed, cyuyle & polytyke hedys he confessyd many, *sed iure diuino nullum*. Ferther loke to the begynnyng of the church when the truth therof was bettur knowen than hyt ys now. In the actys of the apostyls you schal fynd no such thyng, and aftur the apostyls days the iiij patriarchys of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constanti[nople], of rome had among them no superiorite.

(5) Loke farther how the grekys fele from the church catholyke as we cal now, chiefly for bycause the byschope of rome wold be chefe hede; you know what ys to be gyuen to the iugement of the grekys in the interpretatyon of scripture bettur than I dow.

Abstract.

council. (4) The second question: Is the supremacy claimed by the Pope founded on Divine law? He points out that there are no passages of Scripture on which to ground it, and that the bishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome were originally equal in authority; that (5) this assumption by the Bishop of Rome of supremacy had caused the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

¹ Leaf 361, back.

The contentyon betwix Petur & Poule takyth away such superioritye as ys gyuen to the successorys of Petur.

Pondur why more from the byschope of Antyoche than of Rome such superiorite ys taken a way seyng Petur was byschope of bothe.

(6) Thes certayn poyntys I now wryte to you, *non quia preiudicium aliquod afferrent*: the kyngys plesure ys that you schold, wythout any preiudicial affectyon taken of any man apon one parte or other, wyth a sincere mynd & wyth that lyght that god hath gyuen you in scripturys & lernyng gyue your sentence. And as touchyng the pollycy of bothe the materys & of bryngyng them to effecte, wych hys grace hathe now downen whether hyt be wel downen or yl he requyryth no iugement of you, as of one that in such thyngys hath no grete experyence as yet. As whether hyt be conueny[ent] that ther schold be one hed in the church & that to be the byschope of rome, set thys asyde, & in hys cause of matrimony, whether the pollycy that he hath vsyd therin be profytabul to hys reame or no, leue that asyde; only schow you whether, yf the fyrst matrimony were to make, whether you wold approue that then or no, and the cause why you wold not, & thus wey the thyng in 'hyt selfe as hyt ys in hys owne nature & put a parte feare of al daungerys, hope of al gud wych schold succede & hangyth apon wordly pollycy, and so clerely wythout affectyon other of kyng or quene breuely gyue your sentence. And thus¹ you schal fyrst honoure god & truth; & second also satysfye the kyng, wych sayd to me thes wordys, that rather he had you were beryd ther then you schold for any wordly promotyon & profyt to your selfe dyssymbul wyth hym in thes grete and weyghty causys.

Thus² you haue my mynd & the kyngys plesure withal, and yf case be that you reche to the iugyd truth, you nede not to feare, after my mynd, that men schold lay to you lyghtnes of mynd & chaungyng of sentence, for as fer as I can coniecture you dyd affyrme nothyng in the cause *as was conuenient for arrogancye hyt (1) any thyng affyrme but only that wych by the word of god we haue declaryd to vs, wherfore you dyd *² only put before hys yes the daungerys wych hangyd apon wordly pollycy. Yf I remembyr thys you dow, I can not wel tel for I neuer see nor red your boke but onys as you know wel, at the wych tyme hyt semyd to me you wrote so probably that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to co[me], but I trust

Abstract.

(6) The king desires Pole to set aside all questions as to *policy*, and, without looking to any danger or advantage that might arise, give his opinion, sincerely and impartially, as to one who would rather see him dead than deceitful.

¹ Leaf 362.

² MS. *thys*.

* The words between * are inserted both above the line and in the margin; the order of the clause is not quite clear, but this seems to be the best sense that can be made of it.

the gudnes of god & prouydence of our most wyse prynce schal auerte & turne al suche calamyte by mannys coniecture forseyn from thys our cuntrey.

Dyrecte your knolege yf you see nede by mastur gaspero, the byschope of chete, wyth other such men of hys lernyng & iugem[ent].

§ 12. These repeated requests and solicitations at last had their desired effect. On the 27th May, 1536, Pole forwarded to the king his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, with the following letter:—

"Pleaseth it your grace to vnderstond that wheras, furst by Master Sterkeys letters, chapleyn to your grace, and afterward by Master secretary confrmeng the same, I was aduertysed that it was your grace pleasure I shold by my wryting open to your grace my sentence concernyng the superiorite of the pope in the church, wyth other artycles belongyng to the same, ad[i]oyneng thervnto such reasons as dyd most induce me to enclyne to that parte I toke; assuring me the same shold be most acceptable to your grace, yf, withoutt affection of any parte, or respecte other but only of the very truthe, I shold playnly sett furth my sentence. I, therefore, gevyng credence to thys enformation and obeyng to your pleasure, haue, wyth all playnes, comprised in a boke my hole sentence, wch I have sent to your grace by thys bearar. And now how it schall satysfye your grace that I have wryten, I thynke he knoweth only in *cujus manu sunt corda regum*: for thys knolech I wyll not gyve to your grace, nor to no man, how grete so euer he be, in yerth, to know somuch of hys owne mynd afore he here the truthe how he shal be moued withall: but god only hath thys knolech, wch at hys plesure ys to gyue the lyght of hys spyrite, more or lesse; so he maketh the harte of man more or lesse contentyd wyth the trothe; wherfore to hys goodness now all my prayere shal be, in whom ys all my trust for the knolech of the truthe to be perswadyd to your grace. And as tochyng my purpose in the dyscorse of my boke to the manifestyng of my sentence, yf it please your grace to have further enformation, I have geuen instructions therof to thys bearar, to whom it may please your grace to gyve credence.¹ Thus prayng to almyghty god to preserue your grace in highe honore, to the contentation of your most noble hartys desyre, the same agreyng to hys plesure. Writen at Venyce the xxvijth day of May,

By your faythfull seruant,
Raynold Pole.

Indorsed:—"From Pole the xxvijth day of May:" addressed "To the Kynges Grace."²

¹ These "additional instructions" are in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi., leaf 334.

² From the original in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII.; "the Pole letters, as transmitted by Mr Collier," Sept. 1859. (See *Appendix to 21st Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 47.) Privately

In this treatise Pole not only dealt with the arguments adduced in Dr Sampson's book, but also commented freely and sharply on the king's private life and character, so much so indeed as to lay himself open to the charge of base ingratitude.

Before he forwarded the book to England, Pole had shown it to two of his friends in Rome, Contarini and Priuli, who remonstrated with him on the tone which he adopted, pointing out that by treating Henry in such a manner he would not only draw down the king's vengeance on himself, but would also involve his relations in his own danger.

To this Pole replied that their observations were very just, and that he was aware of their truth, but since flattery and temporizing had hitherto been the source of all the evil, the only remaining hope was in exposing the naked truth. "If, however (he says), when you have read through the work you still think, notwithstanding what I have said at the beginning and end, that it wants other correctives, I will submit it to those which you may judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." And in a further letter to Priuli he declares that he had entered upon the blamable part of the king's character with the utmost reluctance, and that he had been persuaded to do so only by his great desire to promote Henry's welfare, which could never be done unless the king himself were brought to a sense of his faults. "How (he says) can this be done unless they are placed before his eyes? Who will undertake this except myself?"

In his *Apologia* Pole declares that he read over the book before sending it to England, not without some thoughts of suppressing it, but that finding certain leaves which contained the sharpest strictures on the king's character cut out, he suspected that they had been purloined by some of his enemies for the purpose of sending them to Henry and doing him injury, and he therefore determined to forward the book as it was to the king.

He adds that with the book he sent to the king a letter full of printed by Mr J. P. Collier, in 1871, with the title "*Nine Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII.*", written by Reginald Pole, Thomas Cromwell, Michael Throckmorton, and Thomas Starkey. Copied from the originals." There is another copy of Throckmorton's letters in MS. Cott., Nero, B. vi.

affection and duty, assuring him that what was written was written to him alone, and had been shown to none whose knowledge of the matter could cause any harm or danger; that he himself would suppress the work so long as he saw any hopes of being able to acknowledge in a more pleasing argument how much he was indebted to the king for his education and so many other marks of the royal bounty.¹

At the same time he alludes to the fact that some of his statements had been called in question, and defies any person to point out a single false statement.²

Pole seems, however, to have at least partially regretted the tone of the book, for not all the injuries inflicted on him by Henry could induce him to allow it to be printed, nor was it till after a German bookseller had published an unauthorized and incorrect version from a pirated copy that he in self-defence consented to the publication of a true and authorized edition.

As to the delay in forwarding the book, Pole in his *Apologia* seems to wish it to be understood that he was anxious, if possible, to escape the necessity of sending it at all, but had, as he says, seized the opportunity presented by the death of Ann Boleyn, because then he felt that the king would either wander beyond all hopes of reformation or, if addressed in time, might be induced to return to the laudable paths which he had forsaken.

But such a surprise was this treatise to Henry, who had been led by Starkey to be firmly convinced that its contents would be favourable to his cause, that the natural result was the disgrace of the latter. Starkey himself, it is clear, was astonished beyond measure, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that in raising such hopes in the king's mind he was influenced by any other motive than a sincere belief in their fulfilment.

Starkey, on the receipt of the book, acting as Pole's true friend, desired that it might be committed to the judgment of some learned

¹ See Phillips's *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I. p. 186. This cannot mean the letter printed above, p. xxxi, but may refer to the *Additional instructions* already mentioned, in which he professes the strongest attachment to the king and the greatest desire to please him.

² *Apologia ad Angl. Parliamentum*, I. 179.

men, who should read and impartially report on it. To this the king assented, and Starkey himself was joined with them.

§ 13. But though all the committees seem to have been friends of Pole, yet when they came to read the book, so strong was its language and so full did it appear to be of ingratitude towards the king, his friend and patron, that they could not but be struck with surprise, sorrow, and indignation. Starkey especially was thunderstruck; all his hopes and his confident expectations were so rudely dashed to the ground that he, with the others, could scarcely believe the book to be Pole's own writing. He asked to be allowed to read it over privately alone, and did so carefully and seriously, as he says, with the result that after consideration of the whole matter he came to the conclusion that it was "the most frantike iugement" that ever he had read of any learned man. He therefore writes as follows to Pole, expostulating and arguing with him (MS. Cott. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 365):¹—

(1) Much I haue maruelyd, *Master Pole*, al thys yere past bothe of your syldon & schort wrytyng to me, consydering the contynual dylygence vsyd apon my behalfe euer toward you, and though of late at the fyrst cumyng of your *seruant*² when he brought your boke I jugyd that you perauenture wrote not, bycause you * were so occupyd, in the fyrst setting out *³ of your mater in wrytyng to the kyngys hyghnes, wherin you had byn before tyme somewhat slakke & so had lytyl leysure, yet now at hys second retorne, when you wrote to dyuerse other of your frendys I lokyd to haue had some one word wryten vnto me for that me thought our frenschype requyryd. Wherfore then I bega[n] playnly wyth my selfe to iuge your mynde wythout cause alenate as me thought, and most justely I myght accuse you of vnkyndnes, wych vsyd toward me such contynual sylence; for thys I haue euer rekenyd, that dyuersyte of opynyon in such thyngys wych perteyne not of necesseyte to mannys saluasyon, schold neuer brek loue & amyte betwix them wych haue iugement &

Abstract.

(1) Expresses the disappointment which he had felt in not receiving any letters from Pole, the reason for which neglect he had

¹ This letter has been considerably condensed, as it has already been printed by Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, I. pt. ii. No. lxxxI.

² Thockmorton, who was afterwards gained over to the king's side, and used as a spy upon Pole's actions.

³ MS., wold gyue no occasyon of blame *crossed out*, and the words *between* * *written over*.

dyscretyon, no more than doth dulnes or scharpenes in the syght of the ye, wherein one frend to be angry wyth a nother bycause he sethe ferther or not so far as dothe he, ys veray smal reson, for as the one schold cause no anger so the other schold brede no enuye; so that although I varyd from you in the iugement of the mater, yet your sylence declaryd much ingrattyte toward me. (2) And thys count I made before I rede your boke, but aftur such tyme as I dyd rede the same & weyd your iugement therin I was no thyng sory of thys your sylence, but rather glad that you so vsyd yourselfe toward me, for hys letturys to rede, who hathe so lytyl regard of hys masturys honowre & so lytyl respecte of hys frendys & cuntrey as in your wrytyng you playnly declaryd, I haue lytyl plesure. Wharfor though of late I had determynyd neuer to wryte you agayne, yet aftur I had rede your boke I was so affectyd, and wyth your ingrattyte toward our prynce and cuntre so offendyd, that I could not tempor myselfe nor satysfye my mynde wythout some declaratyon therof by wrytyng to you schowyd. And so now euen as you sayd to me illa tua oratione principem et patriam tuo quidem iudicio pareuntem extremis quasi verbis compellare, so schal I te insanientem mea sententia amicum extrema quasi voce salutari, for thys¹ I purpos schal be the last lettur that euer I schal hereafter to you wryte donec resipiscas. Wherin I wyl not entur to dyspute the ground of the mater wych requyryth rather a boke then a lettur, but only I schal a lytyl open to you, the grete imprudence & foly, the detestabul vnkyndnes & Iniury schowyd in your sentence bothe toward your prynce frendys & cuntrey. By the reson wherof except you take hede & consydur the mater in tyme wyth bettur Iugement, wyth that contempt of your contrey & thys arrogant dyspysyng of al the iugementys therin, you schal vturly cast away your selfe. (3) Wherfore, Master Pole, I schal pray you by al such loue as I haue euer borne to you, wych I promyse you ys gretur than euer I bare to any natural brother, to here me a lytyl & wey my wordys indyfferently. And fyrst, Master Pole, how I was affectyd wyth the redyng of youre boke I schal a lytyl touche. At such tyme as your boke was delyueryd to the kyng though you wrote not to me, I, forgettyng not the offyce of a frend, requyryd that your boke myght be commytted to the examynacyon of them wych bothe had lernyng to iuge & wold wey the mater indyfferently, the wych I

Abstract.

been unable to imagine. (2) But after reading of his book he felt glad that Pole had not written, for there could be no pleasure in the letters of one who showed such base ingratitude towards his prince. This, therefore, is to be his last letter to Pole, which (3) he begs him to weigh seriously. When his book arrived he had asked that it should be referred to a committee of learned men, to whom he was joined. So shocked had he felt when it was read, that it seemed to

¹ Leaf 365, back.

promys you was done, and to them I, as your frend was joynd also; in the redyng wherof, though we louyd you al intyrlly, yet your corrupt iugement in the mater & your detestabul vnkyndnes toward your prynce so offend[yd] vs al, that many tymys our yerys abhorryd the heryng; and as for me, I promys you at the fyrst redyng I was so amasyd & astonyd wyth the mater that I coude not wel iuge, I wist not with what spryte hyt was wryten wythal, and euer me thought hyt schold be some dreame, or at the lest no oratyon of *Master Pole*, whome I euer notyd to be the moste addycte to the honowre of hys prynce & the welth of hys cuntrye that euer yet I knew. (4) Wherefore I obtaynd your boke to ouer rede myselve alone, ye aftur yet wyth my lord of *Durham* I rede hyt most dyligently, obseruyng & notyng the hole ordur & processe therof, & when I had redde hyt aftur thys maner I was more astonyd then I was before, for then comparyng the hede to the end & consydering the hole cyrcumstance of the mater, playnly to say to you euer as I thynke, therin¹ apperyd to me the most frantyke iugement that euer I rede of any larnyd man in my lyfe; for herin lyth the summe of your boke: bycause we are slyppyd from the obedyence of rome, you iuge vs to be separate from the vnyte of the church & to be no membrys of the catholyke body, but to be worse then *Turkys* or *Sarasyns*. Wherefore you rayle apon our prynce to bryng hym ad penitentiam more vehemently then euer dyd *Gregory* agayn *Julyan* apostata, or any other agayn such tyrannys as persecut[ed] Chrystys doctryne. . . .

(5)² I marveyle that you consyderyd not, how the veray chrystien vnyte stondyth aftur sayn *Poulys* doctryne in the vnyte of fayth, & of spyryt & in a certayn knyttyng togyddur of our hartys by loue & charyte: wych may rest in al kynd of pollycy, for dowteles thys superyoryte of some sprange fyrst of pollycy, as hyt ys euident by old story, for *Constantyn* was he that gaue therto fyrst authoritye of al such power & superyoryte, wych by other was contynuyd & incresyd, and so, as hyt began by manys wyt & instytutyon, I thynke hyt schal end by lyke reson: for in the expresse wyll & word of god hyt hathe no such rote and ground as to you hyt apperyth. . . .

³ And as touchyng the placys of scrypture wherby you confyrme the prymacy, you folow the vulgayre trayn of the latur docturys, wych violently draw them to the setting vp of the see of *Rome*, forgettyng the purpos of the ancyent docturys of our relygion; the wych, exalt-

Abstract.

him some horrible dream. (4) He had, therefore, obtained leave to read it over alone, but could only think it the most "frantyke iugement" he had ever read. (5) The supremacy of the Pope, as being an institution of man, could also be put an end to by man's authority; that the old doctors, in exalting *selem romanam et cathedram Petri*, meant thereby the faith which Peter taught at *Rome*, as is testified

¹ MS., thyerin.

² Leaf 366.

³ Leaf 366, back.

ying sedem romanam & cathedram Petri, euer ment therby, fidem quam petrus pre ceteris professus est, et Rome docuit; and for bycause the fayth of Chryst ther toke most notabul increase & from thens was deryuyd to the west parte of the world, therefore thydur was euer in al dowyts chiefe recourse, & that see was most praysyd & preferryd aboue other, as a place of conseyll & not of hygher powar & authoritye. Thys testyfyth Jerome, Cypriane, wyth al the antyquyte.

¹ Al your scharpe wordys vsyd in thys mater contrary to your *masters* honowre, declare in you a meruelouse blynd & a corrupt iugement with wonderful ingratitude toward your prynce & cuntra. Whereof, *master* Pole, what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd yf I schold here be about to open vnto you, I schold, I thinke, labour in vayne & of you perauenture be lytyl baleynd.

(6) ² But I trust, *Master* Pole, hereaftur the loue of your owne cuntre, and bownden dewty to your souerayn lord & *master* schal so prsuayle in your stomake, that you in tyme retractyng your sentence schal to your grete comfort inoye the same quiet. For sorowful I schal be to see you persyste in any such sentence & foly wherby you schold refoose to come to the prescence of your prynce & perpetually to lake the fruytyon of your natural frendys & cuntrye.

(7) And where as of late I here the bysch[op] of Rome hath inuetyd you to consulte wyth hym upon a conseyll general, I wold aduysse you as one of your most louyng frendys to consydr the cause wel before you apply, & loke wel to the offyce wych you owe to your prynce, & suffur not your conseyence to be bounde wyth any superstycyouse knot conceyuyd by folyach scrupulosyte. For yf you iuge your selfe more to be bounden to that forayn byschoppe then to your natural souerayn lord, you schal of al wyse men, I thinke, be jugyd to lake a grete parte of witt & more of vertue & honestye: you schal be jugyd playnly to be blyndyd wyth some grete affectyon & to be an vntrue subyeecte vn-to your mastur and an open enemy to your cuntrye, whome you say you loue so intyerly. Consydr therefore thys mater wyth your selfe ³earnystly, for ther hangyth more therepon then I feare me you wel conceyue: for thys one thyng I schal say to you, wych I pray fasten in your brest, that yf you folow the breues of the pope to you directid & besy your self to set forth the sentence wych you haue wryten to the kyng, blowyng vp that authoritye wyth such

Abstract.

by Jerome, Cyprian, and others. (6) But he trusts that Pole's love for his country will induce him to retract his opinion, and (7) warns Pole that his ingratitude to Henry will, if persisted in, be ascribed to some sinister motive, and that if he makes public the book which he has written to the king he will be judged to be as great a traitor and as false to his country as ever any one has been.

¹ Leaf 368, back.

² Leaf 369.

³ Leaf 369, back.

arrogancy, you schalbe notyd in the chrystyan commynwels to be as sedycyouse a person & mynystur, as grete a breche to chrystyan vnyte, as *euw* hath doone ¹any other in ¹our days ¹wyth ¹rashnes & temeryte: For as sedycyouse ys he wych al old custumys & vaegys of the church defendyth *ouw* obstinaty as he that wythout dyscretyon subvertyth al rashely.

(8) Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas ut cum tuearis hanc pontificis auctoritatem negotium christi te agere putes: ego certe vereor ne dum hec agas christum plane deseras. Quid enim aliud est christum deserere quam optimo principi qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare? Quam dulcissime patrie que te aluit operam tuam denegare: parentibus et clarissimis amicis humani hominis officia non prestare? At dices, et princeps et patria christum deseruere. O Pole, quam insanias, si propter unum pontificem desertum nos christum deseruisse arbitrare. Ego profecto spero fore ut post hanc a pontifice defectionem, arctius christo hercamus. Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam leuem causam patriam et parentes et optimum principem deseris; sed ignorancia plane lapsus es, cui ego omnes omnium errores iuxta Platonem tribuere soleo.³

§ 14. In spite, however, of all Starkey's exertions, so great was the king's disappointment, and so strong his resentment against Pole, that, as I have said, Starkey soon found that he had lost his position in the king's favour. He seems further to have given cause for a certain

Abstract.

(8) In upholding the supremacy of the Pope he is not upholding the cause of Christ; rather, in deserting his country and his king, he opposes that cause. Such forgetfulness of the natural duty of man he can only ascribe to ignorance, the source of all errors.

¹ *Written over* Martyn Luther, *erased*.

² *hys after* wyth *erased*.

³ Of this letter there are two copies amongst the State Papers in the Record Office: one corresponding exactly with the above, the other evidently a first draft, at the end of which Starkey has written the following note:—

"Colleus presens cum polo cum scripsit librum confessus est mihi coram morisone se audiuisset sepius ab eo, quod eo tempore cum primum scribere cepit iussus a rege, auctoritatem pontificis pre constitutione humana & pro *diuagatio* habuit, ceterum ubi ad scribendum appulit animus aliud didicit, edoctus diuino spiritu a quo precebus & genibus flexis optinuit certe veritatis cognitionem quam unam tunc & scriptis defendit.

1587 January 12.

Scripsit librum suum suspicatus gallum quendam suffuratum unum ex suis quaternionibus, quem tamen postea reperit, iraque motus erat tumulti nostri ex morte regine ut quidam putarunt."

This, it will be seen, agrees with the account given by Pole himself; see p. xxxii, above.

amount of suspicion, because when preaching against the Pope he had, in the opinion of the court, used too great mildness, and had not spoken against the papal claim of supremacy with sufficient sharpness. For this he appears to have been strongly taken to task, a circumstance which caused him great disquiet and alarm, as we see by the following letter:¹—

(† July 1536.)

My Lord, your wordys haue goone through my hart, the wych more greuously stroke me cumyng from you, in whose gudnes I was as much perswadyd to trust as I was in any manys in erthe; wherefore such wordys as cam from you haue more tormentyd my hart, then schold haue doone so many swordys, and yf I were not comfortyd wyth thys, that I thynke surely that the scharpenes of them sprange of a certayn loue borne toward me before tyme (the wych schalbe restoryd, the truthe knowen) I wold haue iugyd them intollerabul, specyally conseyderyng my innocency in such thyngys wyche you touchyd so scharpely. To the wych I wyl say but thys one word:—proue that I haue dyssemblyd but in one word wyth you or wyth the kyng, & wythout iugement stryke of my heed. And as concernyng my prechyng I besече you let me not be oppressyd with any wronge informatyon, but here what other men wyl say wych were also ther present, and then accordynly I besech you let the mater be conseyderyd; for yf I haue not bothe wryten & spoken such thyngys wych wel pondersyd schold bothe set forthe the truthe, & also rather quyt then increase sedycyon, let me suffur dethe wythout further delay. And as touchyng the corrupt iugement of the sorowful man, I besече you impute not to me any parte of hys foly, wych hathe alreedy more greuyd me, then euer yet hathe doone the dede of any man lyuyng apon erthe. And where as you thynke I study a mean doctryne for myn owne glory, I know not yet, my lord, what you mean, for I haue studyd to exhort & moue men from suche extremyte, wherby they are styrryd to flye theyr obedyence to the kyngys lawys, & to such other thyngys as by the consent of our cuntrye are set forthe to the opennyng of goddys truthe & hys relygyon. I forge no mean but that wych I fynd wryten in goddys worde, and approuyd by the iugement of our clergy. Trothe hyt ys that I can not frame my iugement to plesse al men, beyng in such varyety of sentence & controuersya, for some peraurenture yet thynke truthe to be treyson, & some peraurenture that hyt ys here-ye, betwyx whome I stond, & wyl so long as I schal stond in thys lyfe. from thys truthe you schal fynd me my lord to be no sterter, wauerar, nor hengar in the wynd, for thys ys goddys truthe, lying

¹ *State Papers in the Public Record Office, Henry VIII., 1535-7.* This letter bearing no address, it is difficult to say whether it was written to Cromwell, who was now Lord Privy Seal, or to Cranmer, but probably it was to the former.

XI. STARKEY'S LETTER TO CROMWELL RELATIVE TO POLE'S BOOK.

betwix thes sedycouse extremytes. But hereof I wyl now speke no more, only thys, besechyng you to be myn indyfferent gud lord, & let not my truthe and innocency be other wyse taken then hyt deseruyth.

This letter, which bears evident signs of having been written in great haste, and in a state of agitation, appears to have produced some effect; for, as we gather from the following letter, both Cromwell and Cranmer seem to have tried to console him, and assure him that he had not forfeited the king's favour. Starkey, however, thought it advisable to enter into a fuller defence of his own conduct, and again writes to Cromwell :¹—

(24 July, 1536.)

(1) My lord, though as wel by the relatyon of my lord of Casterbury as also by the few wordys wych you spake to me the last day at Stepney I am restoryd to a greate parte of the quyetyes of my mynd, for as much as therby I am perswadyd fully that you toke my purpos & intent euen as hyt was, & that you be my gud lord aftur your wont & custumyd maner, yet thoroughly quyetyd I nother am, nother yet can be, vntyl I may be assuryd that the kyng, my souerayn lord & mastur, ys by no wrong informatyon, nor contrary suspicyon, otherwyse perswadyd of me then my hart, wyl, & dedys deserue; for albehyt that the testymony of myn owne conscyence be in dede suffycient to conturwayne agayn al owtward displeasure, yet to my weakenes & infyrmyte hyt ys no smal grefe to be in dowte that my lord & mastur otherwyse schold luge me then my hart deseruyth; the wych also ys much more grefe to me, bycause that I am wel assuryd, bothe by the kyngys owne wordys, & also by hys deedys, that he was gud lord to me & graciously. (2) Wherefore, ayns ther ys of my parte no occasyon gyuen to the contrary, but rather cause why hys gudnes schold be increasyd toward me & benevolence, for as much as I haue traunayld to put in effect such thyngys as were of hys grace wel approuyd & alowyd, the wych before tyme I by wrytyng only touchyd; that ys to say to indeuour my selfe to the inducyng of hys pepul to theyr offyce & dewty concernyng the obedience of hys lawys, & the conceyuyng of such thyngys as were set forthe for the mayn-

Abstract.

(1) Although his mind had been considerably quieted by the words of Cromwell and Cranmer, yet he cannot feel perfectly easy until he has been satisfied that the king's feelings towards him have not changed; especially since (2) he had given no reason for any such change, but had always laboured earnestly in the king's service.

¹ MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 370.

tenance of goddys truthe, al the wych consyderyd I can not but sorow & playnly confesse my wekenes & Imbecyllite vttruly to be vnabul to bere & susteyne of my souerayn lord any contrary suspicyon. (3) Wherefore, my lord, I schal besech you, as you be my specyal gud lord, so to declare hyt now at thys tyme, & not to suffer my purpos & desyre, wych I haue long nurysschyd in my hart to serue my master withal now to be hyndred & drownyd wyth any wrong Informatyon, nor to be blottyd wyth an other mannys acte, wherof I neuer mynstryd occasyon, for of your lordschyppe I take wytnes that I neuer studyd nor laburyd thyng more ernystely then I dyd to brynge that man, for whose faute I now perceyue I am blamyd, to hys offyce & dewtye, & to plukke from hym al sturdy obstynacy. And where as peraenture hyt may be thought that I was the occasyon of the demandyng of hys sentence, you know, my lord; hyt was an occasyon taken, & not apon my behalfe gyuen, for I neuer mouyd the kyng nor yet you to the inserchyng of hys iugement at any tyme; trothe thys ys, that I neuer thought hym to be of so corrupt a iugement & sentence in thys mater of the primacy, & therof I put you in hope & expectatyon, & so I dyd the kyng also, aftur he had commandyd me to wryte vn-to hym hys plesure & request, of the wych hope that I am so deceyuyd, he lyuythe not wych ys more sorowful then am I, not hys owne mother wych bare hym, & now repentyth of hys¹ bryngyng forthe to lyght, nor yet hys most dere brother, who by hys acte ys depriuoyd of a grete comfort of hys lyfe; therefore, my lord, to blame me for hys deede can not be wythout grete Iniury. (4) And as touchyng my owne iugement of thys primacy, thys I may say truly, that yf ther be any man wythin thys reame, wych ought to want suspicyon of thys mater, but syncerely dothe approue hyt without dyssymulatyon, I thynke I may be of that nombur: for of thys, my lord, I schal assure you (& you schal neuer fynd me faynyd man) that before thys mater was mouyd here in our cuntre, I much & oft desyryd hyt to be reformed, consyderyng the damnabul abusys annexyd therto, in so much that I was then notyd & blamyd of many men wych otherwyse iugyd, and thys I onys declaryd vn-to the kyng, before whome I neuer yet dyssymillyd, nor neuer schal duryng thys lyfe. And though peraenture some such wych know the famylyarte betwyx Master Pole & me, (whose amyte & frenschype I dyd not a lytyl estyme,² so long as he forsoke not the iugement of hys cuntre, the seruyce of hys souerayne lord, & loue to hys natural frendys,) haue inducyd you to an iniuryouse suspicyon,

Abstract.

(3) Hopes that he may not have to suffer for Pole's offence, as the application for Pole's opinion was not made at his suggestion. (4) It is unfair to accuse him, of all men, of opposing the king's supremacy,

¹ Leaf 370, back.

² MS. extyme.

yet, my lord, he lyuythe not & lokyth¹ apon the lyght that euer schal instyffe in me toward my lord & mastur any poynt of dyssymulatyon. Wherefore, my lord, yf I schold other wyse be taken, hyt were no smal grefe to me stondyng in thys truthe & synceryte. (5) And as *concernyng* my prechyng one word I am yet constraynyd to speke to you agayne, & I am constraynyd by the desyre that I haue to the setting forth of the truthe, not mouyd by any vayn glory, the word ys thys—that yf myn intent & purpos in my prechyng had byn wel taken, & indyfferently consyderyd, I schold rather haue byn judgyd worthy of thankys, wych I sought not, then of reproche, wych I deseruyd not. For, my lord, you know hyt is not the ryght way of prechyng to bryng men therby vn-to the lyght wythe grete reprofys to condemne theyr blyndnes sodaynly, but that ys the way rather to exasperate meynys hartys & so to confyrme them in theyr fol[ly] more stedfastly. Wherefore, my lord, I haue wyschyd many tymys lately, & for the lous that I bere to the truthe, & to the quyetnes of [the] cite, wherin I haue chosen my dwellyng-place, I doo yet wysch dayly such precharys to be electyd, chosen & pykyd out, wych wythout contentyon & studye of glory schold set forth the truthe syncerely, & aftur the conseyl of sayn Poule in thyngys indyfferent schold haue consyderatyon of the weakenes of men & infyrmyte, wherby they schold promote & auance the truthe wth charyte, & not exasperat[e] & styr one parte to the hate of the other by lyght suspicyon & folysch contentyon mouyd apon such thyngys wych be indyfferent, & no thyng necessary to mannys saluatyon. Such prechyng, my lord, as me semyth, were much to be desyryd, & now in thys tyme most specyally, wherin the kyng & you wyth hys other conseylarys studye the setting forth of such temperryd doctryne, wherof, as I am perswadyd al our cuntre ought not a lytyl to reyoice. (6) For the doctryne of our cuntre ys now

Abstract.

since he had always most strongly laboured for it. (5) As to his preaching, he ought rather to have been commended than blamed for the course he had followed, and if other preachers would follow his example they would more advance the cause of truth and charity. (6) He has devoted himself to preaching solely with a view to helping forward the new doctrine, of the truth of which he is so

¹ Compare *P. Plowman*, B. viii. 58 :—

“If I may *lyue and leke* I shal go lerne bettere.”

The phrase is one which Langland frequently uses; see also C. xxi. 29; xxi. 159 and 175; and, as has been pointed out by Warton and Prof. Skeat, is “one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every country;” the former quoting the following parallel expression from Homer, *Iliad*, I. 88 :—

ὄφρα, ἴμῳ ἔδωρας καὶ ἐνὶ χθονὶ ἀποκομίνοιο,
Ζεὺς ἐὼλεός παρα νηυσὶ βαρύνει χεῖρας ἰσχύου.

so tempryd in truthe, that hyt ys bothe purgyd ¹ from the old abusys & folyesche supersteycyon & also defendyd from the errorys of thys tyme & from al false relygyon, the wych thyng hathe causyd me now so to apply myself to prechyng, & I wytnes god no gloryouse deayre of fame and vanyte; for yf I were persuadyd that thys doctryne, approuyd in our cuntre, were erroneouse, I wold yet rather lose my lyfe schortly, then be one of thos wych schold set forthe the same openly. Nor thynke you not, my lord, that I am so bleryd wyth the schadowys of thys lyfe, that I preferre the lyfe among them aboue the lyght of the truthe, nother yet that I am *neque frigidus neque calidus sed tepidus* ² in the setting forthe therof, as perauenture by some informatyoun you may conceyue, for hyt ys my dayly prayer to hym that ys the fountayn of lyght that I may by hys benefyte bothe see the truthe & also constantly to stond in the defence of the same, wherin I trust he dothe & wyl maynteyne & strength me continually, & gyue me hys grace not to stond therein coldly. And though, my lord, you iuge me more to be traynyd in phylosophye than in the trade of scripture & in the wrytarys therapon, wherin perauenture your lordschype jugyth not much a mys, yet thys I schal to you, my lord, say, & I schal say hyt without al arrogancy, that of the continual redyng of scripture hyt selfe, wherin certayn yerys I haue acostumyd myselve, I haue gedderyd a certayn iugement, wherwyth I long haue examynynd such wrytarys as I haue rede therapon, from the wych I purpos not to slyppe duryng thys lyfe, & in case I fele the wrytarys of thys tyme to swarne from the same, I haue them suspectyd, for in the old authorys I fynd therto a grete conformitye. (7) The summe of my iugement tendyth to thes ij poyntys, fyrst to a contempt of thys lyfe & of the vayn plesuryys therof, & to a sure trust & confydence of an other, loking vp alway to thos thyngys wych are not seen wyth a clere ye not dasyllyd wyth the glyteryng of such thyngys as are present & subyecte to our syght: the other ys, to a certayne vnyte & concord, ye & to a certayn bande & knott of charyte, wherby men must knytt them selfys togyddur as membrys of one body, & walke in an obedyence to the ordur of the world, despyeyng al thyngys wych other men so much contende & stryfe for, & beryng al trowblus wyth patyence & humylyte. To thes ij poyntys tendyth my iugemente geddryd of scripture, the wych though they may perauenture appere vulgare & commyn & to be but of smal moment & weyght, yet by them I doo examyn al the wrytyngys, sayinges, & doyngys of thys tyme, the wych not sauoryng herof I doo viturly condemne, & wyl doo whyle I lyue; for I abhorre al such sedycyouse actes & doctryne,

Abstract.

firmlly convinced. (7) From his earnest study of Scripture he has conceived a contempt for the things of this world, and a sure trust

¹ Leaf 371.

² MS. *tepidus*.

wych, vnder the prestense & colowre of the truthe, mouythe apom tryfullys such controuersye, wherby ys broken the ordur of chrystyen charyte. Wherefore, my lord, I doo not a lytyl reyooyce to see how among¹ ys in our cuntre by the commyn consent of our clergie maynteynyd & confyrmyd al true ecclesyastycal pollycy, & no notabul nor necessary ordur broken nor infryngyd by the plukkyng away of thys primacy as many men gretly fearyd. In so much, my lord, that yf I may in thys rest of my lyfe be in any parte a mynystur to set forthe thys ordur approuyd by the iugement of my cuntre, wyth concord & vnyte, I schal thynke myselfe not to be borne vturly in vayne. (8) Wherefore, my lord, I besech you, as you inge me to be one of thos wych intende to serue my mastur & cuntre faythfully, so to helpe that my hart wyl & mynd may be taken of my souerayn lord, as hyt ys syncerely, wherby I may be the bettur incurragyd to doo that thyng wych perteynyth to myn offyce & dewty, to the wych I schal indeour myselfe most dylygently, strengththyd, as I trust, by hym who gouernyth al, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt your lordschyppe, besechyng you to pardon me of thys importunyte, to the wych I am by sorow constraynyd.

Wrytyn at London, the 24 of Iuly.

Your lordschyppps
Thomas Starkey.

To the most honorabul &
my syngular gud lord
my lord pryuy seale.

Henry's chief fear was lest Pole should publish his book, and he therefore deemed it expedient to conceal his indignation for a time at least. By his orders a message was sent to Pole desiring him to return to England, in order that certain passages in his book which appeared obscure might be explained. Pole, however, declined to trust himself in the lion's den, writing as follows to the king:—

"Your grace thatt callyth me hath putt such an impedymente in my waye thatt lettyth me. I can nott passe to your grace except temerarioulye I wold caste away my-selfe. This surelye & truelye afore god and man I may saye that beyng yn thatt case I myght go or ronne, your grace callyng me vnto yowe, there ys no lett yn thys world were able to retayne me from comyng to your grace but onely thatt procedyth off your selfe."²

Abstract.

and confidence in things above. (8) He therefore hopes that he may be allowed to do the duty of his office, and thus to help forward the cause which has been approved by the country.

¹ Leaf 371, back.

² MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., leaf 323.

Pole had asked that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he speaks of as a "sad and learned man," might be allowed to read and report on his book, declaring that it was not so bad as had been represented. To this the king assented, but the bishop, after a perusal of the treatise, could only corroborate the opinions already formed of it, and wrote to that effect to Pole (MS. Cleop., E. VI., leaf 375).

1536

On the 26th July, 1536, the day before Pole received this letter from the bishop, the Pope sent a message to him inviting him to Rome. Pole, who had now committed himself to the papal party, after some little hesitation accepted the invitation, and sent notice to Henry of his intention of doing so. Starkey, as we have seen (p. xxxvii), remonstrated strongly and in no measured terms against such a proceeding, and so did Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's own friend, while Cromwell stormed and threatened.

§ 15. In spite, however, of the remonstrances of Starkey and Tunstall, and the threats of Cromwell, Pole repaired to Rome,¹ and on the 22nd December was created cardinal by Paul III. Previous to his elevation to that dignity becoming officially known in England, Starkey wrote as follows to him, in answer to a letter in which he seems to have complained of the manner in which Starkey had remonstrated with him against accepting the invitation to the Vatican: ²—

(26 January, 1537.)

(1) Sory I am, *Maystur* Pole, that bothe my sentence & scharpenes of wrytyng vsyd to you, heryng of your jorney toward Rome, offendyd your stomake so much & toke so lytyl effect, for albehyt

Abstract.

(1) Expresses his regret that his plain speaking in a former letter should have given offence, which he assures him sprang only from a sincere love towards him and his family, and a fear lest he should

¹ Strype says he was accompanied by Lupest, but according to Tanner the latter died on December 27th, 1532, at the age of 36, and was buried in the church of St Alphege, Cripplegate. He had been appointed to the living of St Martin's, Ludgate, in 1529, and the last mention of him which I find in the *State Papers* is on 1st August, 1530, on which day he was presented by Wolsey to the Rectory of Cheriton, Hants. Starkey himself, in his Dedication of the *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., printed below, tells us he was dead then.

² MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 363.

that you peraventure fugyng me herein otherwyse then my nature requyryth, so knowen vn-to you by long conuersatyon, thynke playnly that I am corrupt wyth affectyon & wrote contrary to myn owne conseyence, blyndyd wyth ambycyon, yet thys I schal say vn-to you, & cal hym to wytnes who ys pryuy bothe of your thought & myn, that as the sentence where in I stond spryngyth of the only zele of the truthe, & of the desyre of the setting forth of goddys honoure & glory, so the scharpenes of my wrytyng vsyd toward you cam of the syncere loue wych I bare to you & to your famly, for I am nother so grosse & base of iugement as to preferre any wordly vanyte, aboue that thyng wych apperyth to me truthe & veryte, nother yet so vnkynd as to vse such scharpenes to my frend wythout resonabul ground; for at such tyme as apon the declaryng of your sentence to the kyng you tendyd to Rome, I then, conceyuyng as wel apon the one parte the Increase of the scysme styrryd in chrystys church wych myght insew therby, yf you schoold ther open your iugement in your wrytyng comprysyd abrode to the world, as apon the other parte the dysplesure of your prynce wych myght succede the same both toward you & other of your famly, thought hyt expedient to vse such scharpenes, & that so to doo hyt perteynyd to my bounden dewtye, to the wych you may impute hyt, yf hyt so please you. (2) But now, scharpenes set asyde, I schal say vn-to you, *Mayestur Pole*, thes ij wordys frendly¹ mouyd by such thyngys wych I lately herd from you: though here be greate rumors spreadde abrode that you be namyd to be a cardynal, & entryd in to that ordur, by the wych the doctryne of chryst thes many yerys hathe byn lytyl promotyd, yet persuadyd I am fully, that the loue of your cunstre so stykkythe in your brest, & the desyre of seruyng your prynce so prykkyth your hart, that you wyl neuer accept that dygnyte before you consydur wel the state of Chrystys church now in thys tyme, weying wel the plesure of your masters & bounden dewty to hys gracyouse gudnes & liberalyte. For to me hyt apperythe that wythout such conseyderatyon you take not the streyght pathe to that thyng to the wych aboue al other I am sure you dyrecte your laburys & studys, that ys to helpe to plukke out thys scysme of

Abstract.

make matters worse by publishing his book. (2) It had been rumoured that Pole was named to be a cardinal, but he is fully persuaded that Pole's love for his country and his king is too strong to allow him to accept that dignity at the present time, for by so doing he would only widen the breach already existing. He therefore hopes that Pole will consider the matter earnestly before he accepts that dignity, and that the division in the Church may soon be healed.

¹ Leaf 353, back.

Chrystys church & to restore agayne chrystyan vnyte, but rather hyt seemyth the veray hygh way to augment thys dyuysyon, for as much as by such wyttys & eloquence the rootys therof may be much confyrmyd. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, yf you stey yourselfe in thys mater, I thynke you schal hereafter no thyng repent therof, for though materys of our countr[ey] haue byn here lately in greate motyon, the wych you perauenture wyl impute to thys defectyon from Rome, ingyng vs therby to be slyppyd from goddys ordur & instytutyon, yet by the hygh prouydence of hym who gouernyth al, & by the greate wysedome & gudnes of our prynces I trust you schal yet here such way to be founde & taken herein, that euen the same thyng, wych you percas thynke hathe¹ byn the chafe roote of thys motyon, schalbe so tempryd & ordryd wyth equyte that not only the syncryte of Chrystys doctryne schal come to more clere lyght therby, but also the ordur of Chrystys church schalbe restoryd agayn wyth vnyte, accordyng to the fyrst instytutyon, wherof that my hope ys not vayn I trust you schal here more shortly. And glad I wold be to see you a mynystur to god & to your prynces in such purpos, the wych I feare you schal neuer be yf you onys entur in to that ordur at Rome & take apon you that dygnyte. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, my trust ys that you wyl consydyr thys mater wyth your selfe ernystely; and yet greate hope I haue that honest ingementys schal onys mete togyddur in such a mean wherby thys odyouse scyame wych now reynyth in Chrystys church schalbe extynct vturly, for the wych I schal not cease to pray vn-to hym who ys the only author of al godly vnyte, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt vs al.

Wryten at London the 26 of Iannary.

Yourys yet I trust after the
old maner, Ts. Starkey.

§ 16. It would appear to be about this time that Starkey wrote the following letter to Henry VIII., in which he expresses his fear lest the "corrupt sentence of *Maystur Pole*" should turn to his disgrace and injury. He pleads his own case most earnestly (pp. xlix, l.), declaring his sorrow and disappointment at the unforeseen result and the ingratitude of Pole towards one by whom he had been most liberally and nobly brought up, and defends himself against the accusations or suspicions to which I have already referred. He then (p. li) enters into a general consideration of the king's policy, expressing his pleasure (p. liii) at the suppression of the monasteries, and his earnest hope that Henry would apply the great revenues which would now fall into his hands for the promotion of learning,

¹ Leaf 364.

and not hand them over to a few rich nobles. He draws a sad picture of the state of England at the time (p. lvii), "the rare and smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the commyn decay & ruyne of the same," and the "grete lake & penury of pepul and inhabitantys in the cytes & townys & hole countrey, the wych lake," he thinks, "may in some part be redressyd & helpyn by thys acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in these monasterys was nurychyd a makytude of men lyuyng vnnaryd, & dowteles many in violence lyfe, to the grete dishonowre of god & let of natural propagatyon," now by the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent scattering abroad of so many marriageable men, he believes that "the nombur of the pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd to goddy's honoure & glory." He then refers (p. lviii) to a common report that it was the king's intention to lease the suppressed houses to great lords and rich landed gentry, which he trusts will not be the case, and points out the greater advantages which would arise from leasing the houses and lands to poorer persons (p. lix). Finally (p. lxi), he again expresses his hope that the king will apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the advancement of learning. The letter will be found one deserving of the greatest attention, and will well repay the reader, not only by the interesting though sad picture of the state of England at the time, but still more by the statesmanlike views so clearly and freely declared as to the advantages which would arise from a right use of the enormous revenues of the suppressed monasteries, and of the certain evils which would follow their misuse. How correctly Starkey foresaw the impending danger is only too well proved by such books as Crowley's *Epigrams*, the *Four Supplicationes*,¹ and the extract from Becon printed at the end of this part, p. lxxvi.

To the kyngys hyghnes.²

Thought hyt become non of your subiectys, most Nobul prynce, to meddyl in your weyghty causys, concernyng your honowre & state of your reame, except they be by your grace namely callyd & deputyd therto, yet forasmuch as hyt playsyd your hyghnes, echortly after I

¹ E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, 1871 and 1872.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, 1536-7. In the Public Record Office. Paged 457 to 504.

was admytted to your gracys seruyce, to commytt vn to me the wrytyng of your cummandement & request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame, and consydering also that your pleyzure was I schold be made pruy of hys iugement therin by hys wrytyng declaryd, I schal now vse thys boldnes in thys mater to open & declare vn to your hyghnes myn inward affect concernyng the same, and what hope I haue fully conceyuyd to see al your actys succeeding therto to be conuertyd & turnyd to the hygh honowre of god, to the grete comfort of your subiectys, & to the vniuersal & commyn welthe of your Reame, ye and to maynstur occasyon & to gyue lyght to al other chrystian pryncys to see & folow the tenore of the same. But here in the begynnynge I can not but gastely sorow & greuously lament the corrupt sentence herin of maystur Pole in hys wrytyng declaryd, by whome I trustyd surely to haue seen such a lernyd iugement schowyd to the world, that bothe your grace schold haue taken playnne therof, hys frendys comfort, & al hys cuntrey profytt of the same. for the wyche cause I testyfy god, at such tyme as your highnes gaue me in cummandement to wryte your pleyzure to hym therin, I most hyghly rejoycyd, trustyng therby that he wold haue taken occasyon, so happely, as me thought maynstryd to hym, to ¹serue your grace & hys cuntrey, accordyng to hys faythful & bounden dewty. Wherefore what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd in my hart thes days past in redyng of hys boke, perceyuyng therby hys corrupt ingement, I can by no wordys to your grace fully expresse, for sorowful I was to see so noughty a cause wyth such scharpenes sett forth & wyth such eloquence; sorowful I was to see your grace, hys souerayne lord, so to be dyceyuyd in hym, of whome you haue so much deservyd, and whome of your gudnes as hyt apperyd to me you ener much desyryd to haue inducyd to see the truthe in your weyghty causys: sorowful I was to see al other hys louarys & frendys therby to be depriuuyd of al such comfort & expectatyon as they of long tyme haue conceynyed of hym, and most of al sorowful I was to see thys our cuntrey b[e]rest of such a wytt, to the wych I ener trustyd he wold haue growen to haue byn a grete ornament, & that as he hathe byn by your gudnes & lyberalyte most nobully brought vp, so he schold at the last haue declaryd some nobul seruyce, as wel to the comfort of your grace as to the profytt of hys cuntrey; and somewhat also sorowful I was for myn owne pryuate & propur cause, consydering the lake wych I fearyd wold succede, wyth the perpetual losse of the conuersatyon of so faythful a frend, wyth whome I haue byn so many yerys brought vp in cumpany & continual study, not wythout gret hope, that as we had spent togyddur our youthe in study of letturys, so the rest of our lyfys we schold haue consumyd lyke maner in the seruyce of your grace & of our cuntrey: for though we swaruyd many tymys in our

¹ Page 458.

jugementes, inserchyng the truthe in phylosopny, yet I neuer thought we schold so haue varyd in such grete materys perteynyng to relygyon and ¹to commyn pollycy. I neuer thought hym to be of so base a iugement as he hathe by hys wrytyng manifestely schowyd, and though in smal materys many tymys he apperyd to me to erre, and corruptely to iuge, yet bycause I perceyuyd ever in hym such a constant loue & stabyl opynyon of that wych apperyd to hym to sowne to vertue & honestye, ener me thought hys errorys were tollerabul, spryngyng rather of weke iugement then of any obstynacye: but now sythen that he hathe sett forthe so corrupt a sentence as hyt apperyth to me in your most weighty cause, & schowyd so sklaunderouse a iugement of your gracys actys, though as he takyth the god to wytnesse, hyt spryngyth of loue toward your gracys honowre, that he hathe wryten so scharpely, yet thys I wyl say & playnly affyrme, that yf he wold set out the same to the face of the world, as he hathe in hys boke descrybyd wyth hys penne, I wold take hym to be an extreme ennymye bothe to your grace, to your state, & to our hole cuntrey: for what scharpenes of wordys, what vyolence of sentence, what daungerys in pollycy, what peryl of damnatyon, he declaryth in hys boke, and propownyth to honge certaynly ouer our hedys, hyt ys horrybul to rede, & incredybyl how he schold conceyue, and wondur hyt ys to me, wych so intyeryly haue knowen hym before-tyme, how & by what mean, he ys run in to thys extreme opynyon: but surely as I now perceyue, he hath declaryd hymselfe herin to be ouercome ²wyth the grete affectyon, for playnly he schowythe, that the dethe of them wych suffryd in the cause hathe so stonge hys hart & oppressyd hym wyth sorow, that he semyth to forget vturly hys dewty to hys cuntrey & to your grace, without al humanyte, he semyth to lake powar to wey the nature of the thyng indyfferently. Wherefore what sorow I haue lately conceyuyd of thys hys iugement I wyl no ferther be about to expresse, but comfort myselfe with the truth of the contrary opynyon, and where as he by false report, beyng fer out of hys cuntrey, heryng the forme of your actys & fascyon of pollycy corruptely iugyth wyth desperatyon al thyng to run wyth vs to ruine & destructyon, I presently seying the state of our cuntrey, & the nature of your actys indyfferently ponderyng, wyl turne to my purpos, breuely to touche the hope wych I haue conceyuyd of the maner & mean, wherby I trust surely that your grace by your wysedome & pollycy wyl conuerte & turne thes your actys not only to the quyetnes of your subiectes now in thys tyme wherin you reyne, but also to the commyn comfort of al your posteryte.

And fyrst thys I wyl in the begynnnyng playnly confesse vn-to your hyghnes, that although sone after my fyrst entre in to your seruyce, when I perceyuyd not only your polytyke wysedome, wherby your grace so ernystely myndyd the quyetnes of your subiectys in thys

¹ Page 459.

² Page 460.

eyuyle & wordly lyfe, but also your most chrystyan mynd & iugement, wherby you lokyd vp euer to a nother lyie, wherof thys ys but a schadow, dyrectyng ¹al your actys & pollycy to the attaynyng therof, I conceyuyd by & by thys hope & trust in my hart, that your hyghnes wold neuer promote nor stablysch any acte in thys your Reame & cuntrey but such only as schold tend to your gracys honowre & to goddes glory, ye & such as schold not be only to the quyetnes of thys present age, but also of al our posteryte, though thys hope I say I conceyuyd wyth myselfe yet hyt was not surely groundyd in my stomake, nor ther fully rotyd tyl now of late when hyt pleasyd god by hys prouydence so to ordeyne for our welthe that your hyghnes by just occasyon myght plukke away the rote & grounde of al contrary suspicyon. for thys I thynke may truly be sayd, that so long as that woman lyuyd, whome hyt plesyd your hyghnes, as I take hyt, mouyd by oppnyon of vertue to sett in such hygh dygnyte, few actys could procede by the conyecture of wyse men wch myght be durabul wyth our posteryte, but euer lyke as a sore in manys body, when hyt ys not inwardly & thoroughly healyd, but hathe fayre flesche & coloure vtwardly for the tyme apperyng, at the last brekyth out daungerously, so such actys as apperyd to be byld apon that weke foundatyon, though for a tyme they myght perauenture haue induryd, beyng confyrmyd wyth the only obedyence dew vnto your mayestye, yet at the last in processe of tyme they wold haue brought to themselves ruine & destructyon: but now ²aythen hyt hathe pleasyd the gudnes of god to open thys gate of honowre vn-to your hyghnes, and in tyme to cut vp the rote of al such sedycyon wch myght not only by the iugement of them wch be your true subiectys, but also of al other vtward natyonys, haue sprong therby other among vs now lyuyng, other among our posteryte, I schal not dowte to conceyue sure hope, ful trust & confydence, that your gracys actys schal both now in our age take profytabul effect and long endure to the setting forthe of the truthe & to your immortal glory. For now as touchyng your gracys successyon I trust we in thys tyme schal neuer see occasyon of controuersye; for as much as such frute as hyt schal playse god to send your hyghnes to our comfort by thys your last matrimony schal put al thyngys out of dowte & ambyguite, and yet grete hope I haue that your hygh wyshedome & pollycy, consyderyng the mortalityte of man & the vncertaynty of frute, the mean tyme wyl neuer suffur thys your Reame to stond wythout heyre appoyntyd by your powar & authorityte, specially seyng that to the appoyntment therof are ioynyd such occasyonys so manyfold benefytys, and commyn groundys of al quyetnes and tranquyllyte, for such a personage to appoynt therunto your hyghnes hath, as by the consent of al men lyuyth not apon erthe, the floure of al ladys & the verray glas & image of al vertue & nobyltye, to whome, though I trust hyr grace schal neuer succede but other frute to take place, yet the mean tyme ³sure hope I

¹ Page 461.² Page 462.³ Page 463.

III PREACHERS SHOULD BE RESTRAINED FROM EXTREME LANGUAGE

haue that your hyghnes & wysedome perceyning as wel the tranquillite of the hartys of your subiectys here at home therby to be stablyschyd, as the intertenure of amyte wyth vtward pryncys by the same to be confirmyd, wyl appoynt hyr grace at tyme conuenient to that roye & dygnyte, and so by that occasyon stablysch the fyrst ground, & lay the most sure foundatyon of al the rest of your actys, & of al reformatyon. for of thys dede, though in effect she neuer succede, what honowre schal ryse to your grace among al other externe natyonys, what quyetnes at home among your owne subiectys, what amyte & loue wyth vtward pryncys I wyl not be about, nor yf I wold, I coude not, fully expresse, but thys one thyng apperyth to me certayn & sure, that herin lyth a grete ground & stablyte, a grete stey & knott, of al your gracy actys in thys new pollycy. Wherefore I schal neuer dowte that your gracy wysedome & gudnes can pretermytte thys occasyon of hygh honowre & comyn quyetnes: and then I schal also much lesse dowte of any daungerouse successe wych by the iugement of some men may folow & succede thys your act of the plukkyng downe of the prymacy of Rome. For much fearyd hyt ys, & as hyt ys thought not wythout reason, that thys defectyon from Rome, & chaungyng of the old pollycy, schal not only alter the stomakys of al other chrystian pryncys from your gracy sure & faythful amyte, for as much as they are thought to inge to, ¹be plukkyd away therby the foundatyon & ground of al chrystyan relygyon, but also mynstur a certayn occasyon of the brech of concord & vnyte here at home in your owne natyon bycause that many of your subiectys are thought in hart no thyng to fauour thys alteratyon of pollycy & thys defectyon."

As to this, he says, he is sure that, could the king's supremacy have been established without the necessity of punishing so severely those who refused to acknowledge it, not only would the king himself and all the people been pleased, but it would also have set such an example to other princes that they would all at once have followed the example set them. He yet expresses his hope and confidence that

"precharys, wych haue run somewhat at large now a long tyme schalbe brought to a certaynstey, & not haue lyberty to expowne the darke placys of scripiture aftur theyr owne fantasys, slyppying raschely bothe from the sentence of the auntyent interpretarys of Chrystys doctryne & from the consent & custome of the church, vsyd from the begynnnyng vn-to thys day, ²the wych tameraryouse & lyght iugement hathe byn a grete oocasyon of the breche of chrystyan charyte here among vs your subiectys, to whome they prechyd as vn-to Infydelys, blynd & ignorant of al Chrystys doctryne and relygyon, the wych as they say tyl now of late that the pope was dryuen away, & tyl hyt

¹ Page 464.

² Page 465.

pleasyd god to send lyght to the world opennyd by them vn-to your pepul, was vturly vnknowen euen as Chryst was vn-to the iuys before hys cumyng," the effect of which preaching was that,—"vnder the colowre of dryuyng away mannys tradycyon & popyschnes, they had almost dryuen away al vertue & holynes,"—so that the people began to lose their belief in any doctrine, "and wyth the despyssyng of purgatory, they began lytyl to regard hel, heuyn, or any other felicyte hereaftur to be had in a nother lyfe." Could those who had suffered for their "dysobedyence" have believed that the changes would have stopped there, "yf they had thought that we shold haue slyppyd therby to no farther error nor pestylent opynyon," they would, he is sure, willingly have given their assent to it; and though some "lyght personys" suspect all who fauour "the old & aunceynt custumys & be lothe to see them troden vnder fete . . . to desyre in hart the abrogatyon of your acte, & to haue the pope to be restoryd to hys old authoryte," yet he is sure that all with one consent are fully content, and "that they wych babyl so much of the popys popyschnes abhorre no more hys vsurpyd powar & domynyon then doo they whome they note yet to be papystys & ful of superstycyon."

He proceeds—

"Albehyt some men consyderyng wyth them selfys certayn of your actys succedyng thys defectyon from Rome, as the acte of fyrst fryntys, of the tenthys,¹ & of the suppressyon of thes monasterys & housys of relyggon, iuge therby playnly that the body of your reame in few yerys schalbe much impoueryschyd, & much mysery among your pepul schal succede the same, yet when I consydur your graces hygh wysedome & prudence wherby your hyghnes most clerly seeth how the welthe of al pryncys hengyth chiefely of the welth of theyr subiectys, & how penury euer bredyth sedytyon, & how the hepyng of tresure wythout lyberalyte, hathe always brought in ruyne & destructyon of euery commynalty, I am then certayn & sure that as you haue not wythout grete prudence & pollycy conceyuyd the groundys of thes your actys, stablyng them wyth polytyke reson, so you wyll see & prouyde that they may procede to such end, as by your hygh wysedome they were chiefely dyrectyd vnto. Wherfore consyderyng that thys wordly tresure ys no such thyng² wherin any nobul hart can take hys delyte & pleyssure, sure hope I haue that your grace, whome I know so depely can wey the nature of thyngys, wyl most lyberally dyspense thys tresure & dyspose thys ryches, to the ayd succur & comfort of your most louyng & obedyent pore subiectys, and where as before tyme vnder the pretext & colowre of relyggon

¹ The Acts restraining the payment of Annates to Rome were 23 Henry VIII., cap. 20; 25th Henry VIII., cap. 20. See the *Dialogue*, pp. 126, 199, and Mr Cowper's Introduction to this volume, pp. clxx-clxxii.

² Page 469.

thys abundance of ryches was abusyd to the nuryshyng of an idyl rowte, maynstryng occasyon to al vyce & vanyte, now I trust by your gracys gudnes to see hyt turnyd to the setting forth & increase of all vertue & honestye, & to the comfort of them wych schalbe profytabel cytyzynys lyuyng in some honest exercyse in thys your commynaltie;¹ for many tymys syth I haue had iugement to consydur the end to the wych man of nature ys borne & brought forth, sore I haue lamentyd to see so many vnder colowre of relygyon to lyue as burdonys of the erthe, abusyng the frutys & benefytys of god to theyr owne destructyon." Those, he hopes, who before "ran fast to be prestys & relygyouse, more for hope of profyt & easy lyuyng then for loue of vertue & perfayt relygyon, schal now somewhat stey, & apply themselfys to some other honest fascyon of lyuyng, approuyd by gud & polytyke ordur." Especially he points out that as there are for every state times of war and of peace, so there are "two dyuerse sortys of men mete to be nuryshyd by the lyberalyte of pryncys . . . necessary to the mayntenance of commyn pollycy, that ys to say, men of letturyz & lernyng, & men exercysyd in feytys of armys & chyualrye, of the wych as the one sorte ys necessary for warre, so the other must nedys be had in tyme of peace;" and therefore he trusts that such "superfluouse ryches, as by our forfathers was by lytyl & lytyl accumulate & hepyd to the spiritualtye" may be turned to "the nuryshyng of thes sortys of personys wych schalbe profytabel to your cuntrey both in warre & in peace. I trust to see now many a nobul gentlyman releuyd by thes actys, and exercysyng themselfys in al feytys of armys made apte & mete to the defence of theyr cuntrey. I trust now to see many a nobul wytt incurragyd to lernyng by your gracys lyberalyte, & made apte to celebrate your fame & glory commenyng your pryncely vertues to eternal memory. I trust now to see many notabel precharys spryng forth to lyght, and to declare to your pepul the truth of Chrystys doctryne syncerely; and fynally I trust now to see al such superfluouse ryches, wych among them that bare the name of spiritual nuryshyd no thyng but idulness & vyce, to be conuertyd & turnyd by your gracouse² gudnes to the increase of al vertue & honestye. . . . Howbehyt in thys acte of suppression of abbays & monasterys, among your pepul ther lythe no smal controuersye, specyally seying that by the consent of al your lernyd clergie hyt ys agred that such a place ther ys wherin soulys departyd remaynyng may be releuyd by the prayer & almy[s] dede of ther posteryte . . . how I am persuadyd that your grace wyl conuert thys acte to the welthe of your subyectys now lyuyng, & to

¹ On the great good which *might* have been done with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, see Crowley's *Epigrams*, E. E. T. S., ed. Cowper, p. 7, "Of Abbeyes;" the *Complaynt of Roderyck More*, edited by the same gentleman, 1874; and *The Parish*, by the late Mr Toulmin Smith, 1857, p. 145.

² Page 470.

³ Page 471.

the comfort also of them wych be departyd I schal somewhat more partycularly touch. . . .

" And fyrst herin thys ys certayne that many ther be wyche are mouyd to iuge playnly thys acte of suppressyon of certayn abbays bothe to be agayne the ordur of charyte & iniuryous to them wych be dede bycause the foundarys therof & the soulys departyd seme therby to be defraudyd of the benefyte of prayer & almys dede ther appoyntyd to be done for theyr releyffe by theyr last wyl & testament; and also the commyn wele & polytyke ordur apperyth to be much hyndryd & trowblyd by the same, bycause many pore men¹ therby are lyke to be deprynyd of theyr lyuyng & quyetnes, wherin lythe as they thynke no smal inurye: how be hyt as touchyng thes causys commynly allegyd, though they seme to be of no smal weyght, yet they are obiectyd in thys mater by manyfest lake of iugement & consyderatyon, for to me a lytyl consyderyng wyth my selfe the nature of thys acte, hyt apperyth playnly nother to be vtterly agayne the ordur of charyte, nother yet the foundarys wyllys to be broken therby wyth any notabul iniurye, for thys ys a sure ground by the ordur of al lawys, & by the consent of al men of lernyng & iugement approuyd, that though grete respecte euer hath byn had of the last wyl of testatorys & much pryuylege grauntyd therto, specyally when hyt perteynyd & tendyd to materys of relygyon, yet thys I trow was neuer thought of any men of wysedome & prudence that al theyr posteryte schold be bounden of hygh necessaite to the sure accomplyschment & ful obseruatyon of theyr wyllys prescrybyd in testament & that by no meanys they myght be changyd & ordryd to other purpos, for thys ys a sure truthe that the wyl & dede of euery pryuate man for a commyn wele may be alteryd by the supreme authoryte in euery cuntrey & kynd of pollycey, for as much as euery man by the ordur of god ys subyet therto, & hys wyl euer presupposyd to be obedyent to the same in so much that though he be other absent or dede, yet hyt ys alway by reson thought that yf he were present he wold gyue hys consent to al such thyngys as be iugyd by commyn authoryte to be expedyent to the publyke wele, to the wych no pryuate wyl may be lawfully repugnant. Wherefore albehyt the last wyl of the testatorys be by thys acte alteryd wyth authoryte, yet hyt ys not broken wyth iniurye, bycause the consent of the testator ys presupposyd to be conteynyed therein. in so much that hyt may surely be thought that yf they were now lyuyng agayne & saw the present state of thys world now in our days, how vnder the pretense of prayer much vyce & idulnes ys nurychyd in thes monasterys instytute & foundyd of them, and how lytyl lernyng & relygyon ys tought in the same, ye & how lytyl chrystyan hospytalyte ys vsyd therin, they wold perauenture cry out with one voyce, saying aftur thys maner to pryncys of the world—'alter thes foundatyonys wych we of long

¹ Page 472.

tyme before dyd instytute, & turne them to some better vse & commodityte. We neuer gaue our possessyonys to thys end & purpos to the wych by abuse they be now applyd. We thought to stablysch husys of vertue, lernyng & relygyon, the wych now, by the malyce of man in process of tyme we see turnyd to vyce, blyndnes, & superstycyon. We thought to stablysch certayn cumpanyys to lyue togyddur in pure and chrystyan charyte, wherin we see now reynyth much hate, rancore & enuye, much slothe, idulnes & glotony, much¹ ignorance, blyndnes & hypocrysye, wherfor we cry, alter thes fundatyonys & turne them to better vse; prouyde they may be as commyn scolys to the educatyon of youth in vertue & relygyon, out of the wych you may pyke men apt to be ordaynyd byschoppys & prelatys for theyr perfectyon: prouyde they may be some ornament to the commyn wele & not as they be now sklaunderouse & therwyth grete detryment.' Thys perauenture they wold say vn-to your hyghnes, requyryng your wysedome to cal thys mater to some lyke consyderatyon, wherby hyt may appere that theyr wyllys are not vturly frustrat & broken by your gracys actys.

"And yet many men farther, as hyt apperyth to them not wythout reason, haue requyryd in thys mater much rather a just reformatyon then thys vthur ruynouse suppressyon. How be hyt thos men, as I thynke, haue not in dylygent consyderatyon such thyngys as in thys acte are pryncypally to be ponderyd & weyd, for though hyt be so that prayer & almys dede be much to the comfort of them wych be departyd, & though god delyte much in our charytabul myndys therby declaryd, yet to conuerte ouer much possessyon to that end & purpos, & to appoynt ouer many personys to such offyce & exercyse, can not be wythout grete detryment & hurt to the chrystian commynwele, gud ordur & true pollycy . . .² & though hyt be a gud thyng & much relygyouse to pray for them wych be departyd out of thys mysery, yet we may not gyue al our possessyonys to nurysh idul men in contynual prayer for them, leuyng other destytute of helpe wych be in lyffe, for to the one we are bounden by expresse commandement, whereas the other cumyth but of mere deuotyon." It can, therefore, he says, be no fraud on the dead to turn their endowments to the benefit of the living, since the latter will then be bound to pray for their benefactors, and if they fail to do so the fault will lie with them, and not with the dead, "for whether we pray or pray not they schal not be depryuyd of theyr reward³ by goddys gudnes to them appoyntyd, and yet I doo not say but that hyt ys grete comfort & releiffe to them to see theyr posteryte to haue them in charytabul memory, the wych thyng ys to be requyryd of al men of euery sort & degre, & not only of them wych lyue in monasterys."

The suppression of the monasteries, by reducing the number of those who run to the monastical life, "more mouyd by the

¹ Page 474.

² Page 475.

³ Page 476.

idul quyetnes & vayn plesure therin, then by any desyre of *perfayt vertue & true relygion*,"¹ will therefore, he believes, tend greatly to the advantage of the country, to the honour and glory of God, and to the increase of good order. "For to me *consydering* the state of our cuntrey & nature of the same, & *comparing* hyt to other, hyt apperyth playnly that though ther be therin *ouer grete nombur* of idul personys & yl occupyd, yet,² regard had of the fertylte, nature, & largenes of the place ther may appere a grete lake of pepul & inhabitantys of the same, in the *conuenient multytude* of whome I iuge to rest the chefe mater, ground & foundatyon wherapon ys byldyd al cyuyle ordur & polytyke, the wych thyng may be gatheryd & pronyd suffyoyently, not only of the grete wast groundys, rude & vntyllyd, & of the forestys, *commynys*, & *parkys* fyllyd wyth wyld bestys, wych myght by *dylygent culture* be *conuertyd* to *profytabul vse* and brought to the *nuryschyng* of man,³ but also of the rare & smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the *commyn* decay & ruyne of the same throughout al thys your reame & natyon, albehyt here-of many other causys may be notyd, but where as nother warre pestylens nor famyn hathe mynystryd cause to the desolatyon of cytes & townys, hyt must nedys appere that the decay & ruyne therof spryngyth much of the penury of pepul & lake of inhabitantys, for of thys desolatyon other grete causys & other chefe groundys I fynd not many: and for thys cause long I haue thought & iugyd thys grete nombur of prestys & relygyouse,⁴

¹ Page 477.² Page 478.³ Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 70—73.⁴ Complaints of the excessive number of friars and monks are frequent. Wyclif says:—"not two hundrid ȝeere agone þer was no frere . . . And now ben mony housande of freris in Englonde."—*Works*, ed. Arnold, III. 400. See also the *Dialogue*, p. 149, and *A Supplicacion to our moste soueraigne Lorde, Kyng Henry the Hyght*, H. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, p. 40; and compare the following:—

"Agayne, what an infinite number of monstres, Monckes, I would haue sayd, and other religiouse parsons, and God wyl, as they desyre to be called, did there arise in this kyngdome? Who thought it not a better dede to put his childe into an Abbay, and there to liue idelly, swinishly and irreligiouly pampred vp with al delicious fare that should prouoke vnto lewdnes, than to lette hym lyue abroade in the wolde, and there to practyse some honest arte and occupacion, that might turne to the commodite and mayntaynace of the common weale? What blindnes had inuaded thys Realme! Did not we thinke it rather our dute to obeye the proude Bishop of Rome than our own natue kyng? Did not we esteme hys fantasticall decrees aboue the edictes, lawes, & actes of our own kyng? were we not more ready to folowe his sensuall luses and beastlyke pleasures, than to obeye the commaundementes of our own kyng & ruler? Into what perylles would not we caste ourselves to do y^e rammish Bishop pleasure? Yes would God y^e certayn of this realme in times past had not rather had a mynd to dye for y^e maiutenance of y^e false vsurped power of y^e Bishop of Rome than to lyue w^t obedyente and faythfull hartes to oure moste Chrysten kyng" (Becon, *Pathway to Prayer*, *Works*, 1564, Vol. I. fol. xcii).

lviii ESTATES OF THE MONASTERIES NOT TO BE LEASED TO RICH MEN.

lyuyng vnmaryd in vnclene lyfe, to be much sklaunderouse to chrystian commyn welys & to gyue no smal occasyon to the decay of thys ground, the wych ys dowteles, as the veray foundatyon to al cyuyle ordur chafely to be regardyd. Wherefore now in thes days to my iugement hyt apperyth ¹ hyghly expedyent other to mynysch thys nombur of prestys & of relygyouse personys, other to alter thys law of bound chastyte, though hyt hathe byn neuer so long receyuyd, but wych of thes two thyngys ys now to thys tyme more conuenient I schal leue to your gracys wysedome & iugement; and of thys mater no thyng dowte at al, but that here ys a grete lake & penury of pepul & inhabytantys in your cytes & townys & hole cuntrey: the wych lake, as hyt apperythe to me, may in some part be redressyd & helpyd by thys your acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in thes monasterys was nurysschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dyshonowre of god, & let of natural propagatyon, grete trust I haue that your hyghnes by your gudnes & wysedome wyl now set & plant therin men lyuyng in lawful matrimony, wherby the nombur of your pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd, to goddys honowre & glory.² . . .

³ "But here ys a thyng wych many wyse men fears & gretely dystrust, & what hyt ys I schal to your hyghnes breuely declare. Hyt ys openly iugyd & commynly thought that the ferme & occupying of thes abbays & monasterys schalbe leysyd & set vn-to grete lordys & gentylmen of much possessyonys & to them wych haue therof no grete nede at al, the wych dowteles, yf hyt so be, schal much deface & gretly dymynysch the profyt of your acte & publyke vtylyte, for then schal the grete commoditye therof run but to fewe & to such wych myght lake hyt ryght wel, & your pepul therby schalbe lytyl then increasyd; wheras yf the fermys therof were leysyd by copyhold, & of a mean rent, to yongur bretherne lyuyng in seruyce vnprofytably, & to them wych be of lowar state & degre, they schold gretely helpe to set forward chrystyan cyuyltye & much increase the nombur of your pepul, specyally yf the ferme of the hole monasterys and demaynys of the same were dyuydyd in-to sundry portyonys & dyuerse holdys, & not leysyd to one to turne hyt vn-to a graunge. And thys thyng schold not be viturly wythout reson & gud consyderatyon, for pytye hyt were that so much feyre housyng & gudly byldyng, wych myght wyth commoditye be maynteynyd to the comfort of man schold be let fal to ruyne & decay, wherby our cuntrey myght appere so to be ⁴ defacyd as hyt had byn lately ouerrun wyth ennymys in tyme of warre, the wych must nedys ensew yf the hole monastery be leysyd but to one to whome hyt schal not be necessary to maynteyne so much housyng, but a schyppe-cote perauenture schalbe to hym suffycient." He suggests that each monastery be divided and leased to several men instead of one, so

¹ Page 479.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

³ Page 480.

⁴ Page 481.

that more households and citizens might be produced "apte & mete to the service" of the commonwealth; the "relygouse" may be removed to the greater monasteries, where they can better observe their rules. "Wherefore grete trust I haue & sure hope that your hyghnes, by your synguler wysedome & grete pollycy, wyl plant in thes housys a nothre company then hathe byn before, wyche haue gretly abusyd the benefytys of god & of gud men to them gyuen, by whome the nombur of your pepul schalbe bettur increasyd & the mayesty of god, as hyt ys to be thought, much bettur pleasyd, ye, & the soulys of them wych be departyd much more comfortyd, of whome hyt may be iugyd conueniently that euer as they delyte & take much comfort of the faythful prayerys & remembrance of theyr posteryte, so of the faynyd babbling of many ful of hypocryse ¹ more by custume then wyth deuotyoun vsyd, they take lytyl releyffe & consolatyoun. Wherefore though such a place be, as hath byn euer affyrmyd of al the antyquyte, where as soulys departyd be retaynyd from the fruytyoun of the dyuine mayesty, ther takyng releyffe & comfort of our prayerys made in faythful loue & charyte, yet thys schal not folow of necessity that by thys acte of suppressyon they suffer any wrong or iniurie, but rather, as fer as mannys reson may attayne, schal take grete consolatyoun to see theyr possessyouns, wych long haue byn abusyd to the nuryshyng of vyce & idulnes, ² now conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse gudnes & wysedome to the commyn comfort of theyr posteryte & to the setting forth of goddys glory, the wych dowteles ys more schowyd & openyd to the world by the multytude & increase of hys pepul lyuyng togyddur in chrystyan cyuylte then by a few lyuyng in the monastycal lyfe & solytary." ³

Starkey then proceeds to treat of the question of the origin and progress of the supremacy of the Pope: two causes, he thinks, may be assigned for the former, "the one for as much as general counseyl of al chystian natyouns was iugyd of wyse men to be expedyent both to redresse al commyn errorys and heresys, & also to stablysch a conformyte of manerys & vnyte of chrystys doctryne in the wnyuersal church, hyt was thought ⁴ also mete & conuenient to determe & appoynt one to be hede & chefe in the same to ordur the counseyl & propowne such thyngys as were decred wyth authoryte: the other bycause the word of god & doctryne of Chryst ought to be kept perfayt & hole in al chrystian pollycys, & ought to be the ground & foundatyoun whereapon al chrystian pryncys schold byld al their lawys & be the veray end wherunto they ought to dyrect al their actys & dedys, to the intent that pryncys schold not swarne from the groundys of scripture nor decre any thyng contrary to the true sence

¹ Page 483.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, p. 181, "idul abbey-lubbarya."

³ Compare the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, pp. 79-80.

⁴ Page 485.

& integryte therof: hyt was peraventure iugyd by reason also to be veray expedyent to stablysch such a hede wherby as by a commyn stay the hedy affectys of pryneys & vnlawful purposys myght in some parte be brydelyd, & conteynyed in ordur."

The principal cause of the continuance and increase of the power of the popes he thinks to be "that aftur the tyme that Constantyne, the grete, Emperoure, by the consent of al them wych were vnder hys monarchy, & by hys hygh powar, had stablyschyd thys hede, the euydent¹ vtylyte wherof was felt & playnly perceyuyd through the hole chrystyan pollycy, & specially in thys oocydent parte of the world, then men began to draw placys of scrypture to the confirmacyon therof, and in processe of tyme such as sownyd therto wyth a lytyl apparent probabylyte were by the avauncerys of that power declaryd to the world to proue the thyng of necesseyte, for such ys the symplycyte of man that euery lytyl apparence, namely in materys of relygyon, inducyth hym by & by to ful perswasyon, specially when ther apperyth any daungerys or incommodytes annexyd & succedyng the same."

This power given to the popes might, he says, have continued had they been content with what was originally given to them; but as for reasons of policy they gradually increased it, so he thinks it was a matter of policy to end it, and he declares his conviction that as the Church prospered at first without a head in Rome, it will not injure it now if the Pope is deprived of his supremacy.² For though at first necessary, it had grown to such a height that it was essential to the safety of the country "vttruly to pluke out of al chrystyan pollycy such tyrannycal iuryedyctyon," and he hopes that other princes will follow the example set them in England.

Starkey then impresses on the king the necessity to "dyssefure and to separat a-sundure, al such as be groundys of scrypture, laudabul custumys,³ and honest rytys tendyng to confyrme true & perfayt relygyon frome maany tradytyon, folyesch abusys & erroneouse, by the wych ys vnder growen al false & vayne superstycyon: for to thys dysseferyng & to thys maner of castyng downe the prymacy schal neuer succede the brech of chrystyan charyte, nor yet the ruynes of lernyng, vertue or of gud cyuyltye. Wherof many honest hartys & relygyouse haue conceyuyd grete feare & suspycyon, dowtyng much that wyth thys defectyon from Rome, we schold haue fallen & slyppyd also from al old rytys & rulyes of our relygyon. But now sythen hyt hathe pleasyd your grace by your authority to stablysch the gud & auncyent custumys vsyd in chrystys church from the begynnyng, and to set forth the indyfferent mean betwix the old &

¹ Page 486.² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 198-9.³ Page 489.

blynd superstycyon and thys lyght & arrogant opynyon lately entryng here among vs, I trust surely to see the doctryne of chryst so syncerely to be set forth, & the honoure of God so to be maynteynyd in thys new pollycy, that al other chrystian pryncys schal take therof lyght of true iugement. . . . ¹ Now I trust to see vertue & lernyng so to be estymyd here among vs, and so to be rewardyd by your gracys lyberalyte that al men schalbe much encourragyd therto, and al men schal take therof iuste cause of rejoycyng; for though vertue of hytselfe be suffycient reward to al them wych wyth clere iugement can behold the bewty therof, yet the commyn sort hauyng therof no clere syght, syldome enteryth the straye pathe ledyng thervnto, except they be encourragyd & inflamyd wyth some hope of vtward reward & benefyte;" and to this use he expresses his hope that the king will turn the immense revenues lately fallen to him. He then again refers ² to the "vndyscrete prechyng" which of late had nearly brought in "a certayn dyuysyon," and hopes that in future the people may live in "perfayt vnyte, whervnto syldon and rarer prechyng, made wyth gretar lernyng & dyscretyon . . . schold mynystur no smal cause and occasyon;" for though at first "before Chrystys doctryne was taught to the world hyt was then necessary in euery countrey to haue often & much prechyng, to plant in mennys hartys the groundys of our relygyon, so now whereas hyt hath byn stablyd so many yerys, and both by educatyon & tradytyon so wel confyrmyd, ther ys therof I thynke no such hygh necessity," and ³ "Persuadyd I am that yf so much prechyng had not byn wayd in thys alteratyon of your pollycy, but yf thyngys had byn set forth only by your pryncely powar & authoryte, ther schold neuer haue byn so much repugnyng nor so much gruge agayne your actys as apperyd openly," for he says there is nothing "more vncumly in chrystian commyn welys then to see euery lewde person at lyberty to babyl in pulpyttys of the groundys of scripiture and of hygh materys & weyghty concernyng relygyon, the handelyng wherof worthyly pertynyth to men of approuyd vertue & grete puryte of lyfe, hygh lernyng and depe iugement."

He again returns to the encouragement of learning, ⁴ "by the syght wherof men schalbe styrryd & inflamyd lyghtly to folow thys our trade & kynd of pollycy, and thys schal gyue to other chrystian pryncys by your gracys actys clere lyght of iugement; thys schal moue them to loke to your exampul; thys schal make them gladly to schake away the yoke of the tyrañny of Rome, and, schortly to say, thys I thynke ys the only way to persuade other pryncys & to induce the world to iuge thys defectyon to be a gud dede and to be wel doone ⁵ and truly to say I thynke no one thyng hathe byn a gretar stay to chrystian pryncys to conteyne them in theyr old pollycy then hathe byn the exampul of Germany, whose dyscorde and dyuysyon wyth so many kyndys of relygyon lately receuyd hathe made many

¹ Page 490.² Page 491.³ Page 492.⁴ Page 493.⁵ Page 494.

chryſtian hartys, & many wiſe men much to abhorre al new alteratyon, but as Germanye by raſhnes and, as I take hyt, by lake of ſobur iugement & dyſcretyon hathe mynſtryd lyght occaſyon of ouer much lyberty to theyr pepul, by the reſon wherof they ſlyppyd in-to a peſtylent dyuſſyon, and ſo hath much defacyd & ſpottyd thys kynd of pollycy, ſo I truſt that Englonde, gouernyd & rulyd by your hygh wyſedome & iugement, your pepul beyng temperyd wyth ſoburnes & modeſtye, ſchal mynſtur ſuch exampul & gyue ſuch lyght therin that al other chryſtian prynces hereafter ſchal gladly folow thys alteratyon, & much deſyre in theyr commyn welys to ſee lyke ordur of pollycy¹ and though Maſtur Pole, in whome my truſt ſurely was fixyd; that he wold haue ſubſcrybyd to the iugyd truthe herin, hathe lately declaryd by hys wrytyng a contrary ſentence vndyſcretely, yet I truſt he ys not ſo malycyouse, nor ſo lytyl ſtudyouse of your gracyſ honowre, as to ſet hyt abrode to the face of the world; and yet yf he, forgettyng hym ſelfe, ſchold mynd ſo to doo, mouyd other by the deſyre of the auancement of hys ſentence, to the wych he iugyth the more parte of the world wythout controuerſye dothe agre, other els ſtyrryd by ambycyon & ſtudy of glory, wherwyth he may perauenture be inflamyd gretely, I dowte not but that your gracyſ ſubyeſtys ſchal take therof lytyl perſuaſyon," for, he ſays, as to the Pope's ſupremacy, provided no changes be made in the doctrines and rites of the Church, it will ſoon "be put in oblyuion for euery man ſemyth commynly & vttruly to abhorre that vſurpyd and clokyd tyranny."

The whole queſtion he hopes may be brought before a General Council, ² the reſult of which he feels ſure would be that the example ſet by Henry would be followed by other princes, for it is monſtrous, he ſays, that "though byſchoppys & preſtys be the chefe membrys in chryſtian commyn welys, hauyng powar of god to releaſe men from al ſyn, as precharys of goddys word & mynſturys of hys doctryne, where vnto al chryſtian ³ pollycy muſt be framyd & as apon the chefe ground byldyd, yet by the vertue of goddys word to calenge any authoryte as hedys and rularys, and to clayne ouer al chryſtian prynces any ſuperyoryte, I thynke ſchal appere to goddys word playn contrary." For though ſecular authorities, as ſuch, are ſubject and inferior to eccleſiaſtical authorities, and the law of man to that of God, yet it does not follow that Chriſtian princes, in whom reſts all power, ſhould be inferior to any of their ſubjects, even though the latter be endowed with eccleſiaſtical authority.

When he looks abroad and ſees all the princes bent on war he is almoſt loſt in deſpair, but he ſays, ⁴ "I truſt to ſee a general counſeyl

¹ Page 495.

² Page 496.

³ Page 497.

⁴ Page 499.

to folow and by your gudnes pryncpally the world restoryd to the old quyetes, by the wych mean your grace schal not only doo the offyce and dewtye of a veray chrystian prynce and of a true hede of a chrystian congregatyon, but also by the consent of al men your hyghnes schalbe ingyd to be worthy of immortal glorye, and wyth hym to reyne, who ys the veray hede of al churchys eternally.

"Thus I haue declaryd breuely vn-to your hyghnes the hopys wych I haue of thys present state & kynd of pollycy, mouyd by the redyng of Mastur Polys boke, wherin he studyth the abrogatyon of your actys, and the restitutyon of the old prymacy, declaryng hyt to be a necessary ground to the conseruatyon of chrystyan vnyte and playnly schowyng how aftur hys iugement thes your actys repugnyng to goddys law can not long endure in thys present age, & much les wyth your posteryte: but as he corruptly doth iuge your gracys actys, as he apperyth to me, blyndyd wyth affectyon, not weying they materys indyfferently, so I trust & surely hope that your hyghnes, not only by your syngular gudnes, appoyntyng your successyon at tyme conuenient, wel pondering the commodytes wych depend thereapon, but also by your hygh prudence and pollycy, conteynyng your pepul in ordur and vnyte, wyl so tempur your actys wyth al theyr succeesse annexyd to the same, and so ordur the present state dyrectyng al thyngys to goddys honowre & glory, that they schal not only be an exampul to al other chrystian pryncys to folow and ensew, mynstryng vn-to them lyght of ingement, but endure also long & many yerys to the grete comfort of vs that in thys tyme, and to the inestymabul quyetes of ¹al our posteryte. Thes be my hopys, and ofte cogytatyons & desyrys wherwyth aboue al wordly thyngys I comfort myselfe in thys mortal lyffe. In the declaratyon wherof vn-to your hyghnes, yf I haue erryd or conceyuyd amys, I schal most humbly besech your grace as my souerayne lord & mastur rather to impute of your gudnes myn errour to ignorancy and lake of experyence, then to any lake of wyl and desyre of that thyng wych perteynyth to your pryncely honowre, to the wych I schal serue duryng my lyfe, wyth the same faythfulnes of hart, wherwyth ²I serue hym, who ys the maker, gouernowre, and rulare of all."

§ 17. Here we practically take leave of Starkey, for beyond indirect notices of his death in the appointment of his successors in the livings held by him, we have no further mention of his name.

He had been named on the 30th December, 1536, to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi, in connection with the Church of St Laurence, Candlewick Street, London,³ and was presented to

¹ Page 500.

² MS. wherwhythe.

³ Thomas Starkey clericus habet litteras Regis patentes de presentacione ad Collegium siue Capellam corporis Christi iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurentij prope Candelwyke strete Ciuitatis Londoni London. Dioc. per mortem ultimi

the living on the 26th January following. Hither, doubtless, he betook himself after the failure of the negotiations with Reginald Pole, and here he composed the *Dialogue*, having, as he says, "alate in leysar and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting."

Of this Chapel Newcourt¹ gives the following account:—

"The Parish Church of S. Laurence stood on the west side of S. Laurence Lane (so call'd of this Church), which runs down from Canon-street to Thames Street, in Candlewick-street Ward, and being near Candlewick (now Canon) Street, was in old time call'd S. Laurence Candlewick-street Church.

"It was in antient time increas'd with a Chapel of Jesus, by Thomas Cole, for a Master and a Chaplain; the which Chapel and Parish-Church was afterwards made a College of Jesus and *Corpus Christi*, for a Master and seven (or rather twelve) Chaplains, by John Poultney, Mayor, and was confirm'd by Edward III. in the 20th of his Reign, having the year before, viz. July 1, 1345, granted Licence to the said John, to give and assign to the Custos of the Chantry founded by him, to the Honour of *Corpus Christi*, and of the Church of S. Laurence, near Candlewick-street, London, and to the twelve Chaplains celebrating there, the Advowsons of the Churches of Napton, West-Tilbury, Chevele, Sheule, and Spelhurst.

"Of this Founder, Sir John Poultney, was this Church afterward call'd S. Laurence Poultney (now commonly Pountney), which College at the Suppression was valu'd at £97 17s. 11d, and surrendered in the Reign of Edward VI.

"This Church (which on the Steeple had a very lofty spire of Timber and Lead, new-loaded in 1631 and 1632) was burnt down in the late dreadful Fire, and after that united to that of S. Mary Abchurch, which is made the Parochial-Church for both Parishes; both which are made of the yearly value of £120 in lieu of Tyths to the Incumbent, and the site of this remains only as a burying-place for the Inhabitants of this Parish.

Hujus Collegii Magistri.

Joh. Blackden, A.M., 24 July, 1532, *per resig.* Stevyns.

Tho. Starkey, *pres.* 26 January, 1536, *per mortem* Blackden.

incumbentis eiusdem. Et directe littere ille Reuerendo in Cristo patri Johanni Londonii Episcopo. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx die Decembris.

per breve de priuati Sigillo & de dato &c.—*Patent Roll*, 28 Hen. VIII. Part 3, mem. (19).

¹ *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1708, Vol. I. pp. 8, 889.

Will. Latymer,¹ *pres.* 22 October, 1538, *per mortem* Starkey."

The date of the following letter to Sir Geoffrey Pole is clear from the reference to Pole's having "[gott]en the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made." The mention to Throckmorton refers to his having been sent back to Pole with a strong protest from Henry and Cromwell against his accepting the dignity of cardinal.

(1 February 1537.²)

I wrote to you but short lately bycause I thought my lord, as he was purposyd, had come to you, but now I wyl recompense my shortenes, how be hyt as touchyng newys from Italy your frend hathe certifyd you truly.³

I have expownyd *latine* to you. Master Pole hathe [gott]en⁴ the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made wyth su[che] t[r]iumphe as neuer was maad in Rome, and playnly hyt [ys] wryten out of Italy that he shal shortly be pope, *talie est multorum ibi expectatio*, but yet I can skant beleue that he wyl Inyoy that tytill before throgmortons arryual, wych schalbe shortly, & shortly I trow also retorne, for thereapon heng grete thyngys. The mater ys not wel borne. I wold you were here for ij or iij days at your leysar, & come by my lord montague, yf you here of hys beyng ther at bokmore, for he wylbe also here thys next weke as I here. Our men in the north I trust be wel quyetyd: my lord of Norfolke wyth hys counsail ys now ther. Beyonde the see ther ys grete preparatyon apon al sydys, bothe among chrysten men & turkys, and lately the duke of florence was slayn by hys own Cosyn in the myddyl of hys owne towne, such myschefe ys in the world. Master gostwyke lokyth for you for the kyngys money, & thys Master olyver wyllyd me to wryte to you, & I am sure you wyl bryng hyt up wyth you and more to satysfye other credytorys, *si qui sint*. I have now other newys, but desyryng you that I may be most humbly recommendyd to my lady, your mother, *vale*. Londini, Calendis februaryj,

Th. Starkey.

Here ys a lettur of mastres browneys wythin.

[Addressed]

The Ryght worshipful S^r geoffray pole.

§ 18. Of the exact date of Starkey's death we are ignorant. He

¹ Afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He it was who complained agalst Bonner, Bishop of London, for leaving out of his sermon at Paul's Cross the article of the king's authority in his minority, contrary to the king's injunctions, and for some neglects in his pastoral office and duty, for which he was prosecuted and deprived of his bishopric, October 1, 1549.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office*. This letter is much worn, some parts being in a very bad state.

³ Nearly half a line is illegible here.

⁴ A hole in the paper here carries off the words supplied in brackets.

was certainly dead before the 1st September, 1538, for on that date Cranmer, as appears from the *Registers* in Lambeth Palace Library, presented Hugh Coren to the living of Great Mongeham, *per mortem naturalem* Thome Starkey, S. T. P. *vacantem* (leaf 365, back). If, therefore, the will printed above (p. viii) is really Starkey's, his death must have taken place in the last week of August, 1538. His successor at Corpus Christi was presented, as we have seen, to the living on the 22nd October, 1538, and the Patent appointing him bears date 24th September.

It is very evident that Starkey was far more suited for the life of a student than of a politician. Of a sincere and upright, but readily persuaded disposition, he was completely at the mercy of any more skilled in double dealings, and willing to take advantage of his weakness. His letters after the failure of the negotiations with Pole show at once his earnestness and his want of strength of mind, and it is clear that from the first he was looked upon and used by both parties simply as a tool.

I have omitted all mention of Starkey's work, *An Exhortation to Christian Unity*, because it is quite uncertain when it was written. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that it was composed in 1534, and that it led to his being recommended by Cromwell for the appointment of chaplain to the king. The work, which is fully described by Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. pt. i. pp. 266, 514, begins by stating how "the Pope for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion, had brought in among Christians much false superstition; and for the maintenance of his pride set great divisions among Christian princes; what insolent pride and arrogance it was in the Pope to affirm a superiority among Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the Bishop of Rome he that must be chief judge over all Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with interdicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that the Pope's prerogative could not be shown from any ground of Scripture. That until the time of Pope Sylvester, about the space of four hundred years, there was no mention at all made of this head: that all the ancient and good interpreters of Christ's gospel among the Greeks kept silence concerning this authority, in all their books never making any mention of it: and that if this were true, then should all the Indians these thousand years have run headlong to damnation, who never took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church. The

same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Armenians, who would never own that Bishop for their head."

He concludes as follows :—

"Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God's word in His Scripture granted, nor by the practice thereof by His apostles, inspired with His Spirit, confirmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary; I see no cause why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloaked tyranny, which under the pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple, and pure doctrine of Christ."

The following letter appears to be the original draft of Starkey's application to Cromwell for appointment as king's chaplain, already reprinted at p. ix from the more complete copy in MS. Harl. 283:1—

For as much that I see you so occupyd in materys of weyght in al such tymys wherin you gyue audyence to such as sue vn to you for your socur & conseyll, I haue thought most conuenient, breuely in wrytyng to schow the cause of my sute now vn to you, beseechynge you at your pleasure to rede hyt, at suche tyme, as you are not besyde wyth gretur affayrs; requyryng you also of pardon of thys my importune boldnes, for maruayle you may, that I, beyng to you a straunger & almost vnkowne, schold so boldly requyre your conseyll & ayde, & specyally in such a cause wych semyth to requyre longur acquyntaunce; but maruayle you not, your gentylnes ys the cause, I assure you. the synguler humanyte schowyd vn to me at your fyrst communicatyon, and the grete gudnes wych you to al men declare in al gud & honest requestys hathe put such confydence in my hart and stomake, that I put no dowte, that you wyl not only gladly here my request, but also put to your conseyll & ayde to the fortherance of the same, and bycause I wyl not trowbul you ouer long, shortly to schow you thys hyt ya. I wyl open my mynd now vn to you, non other wyse, then hyt ys open to hym who seeth al. I haue spent many yerys in the studye of letturys, occupying my pore wytt wythe such dylygence as I coude, to attayne to some knolege, both of the law of god & of the law of man, and in thys my studys, I haue had hytherto grete pleasure and comfort, euer more trustyng to haue some occasyon & tyme wherin I myght apply such lernyng as I attaynyd vn to, at the last to some vse & profyt of my cuntry; thys hathe

¹ *State Papers, Public Record Office, Henry VIII.*

byn I testyfy god the end of my studys, thys hathe byn euer before my yees, and to thys now I loke vn to wythe getur desyre then euer I dyd hytherto to any other thyng in my lyfe: but now In thys case & condycyon I stond, that of myselfe I can not attayne to thys end accordyng to my desyre, the gudnes of our prynces who gouernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true commyn wele, that my myzd now gyuyth me thys, that yf hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto. Wherfor if hyt wold plesse you of your gudnes as my sure trust ys, aftur your prudence to helpe & set forwarde thys my purpos, what you schal deserue of me you can bettur conceyue, then I can wyth wordys expresse. Thys I assure you I schal euer iuge that by you I haue optaynyd a grete parte of my felycyte, and the rest of my lyfe I wyl gladly spend accordeyng to your ordur & dysposytyon.

Yours assurdyly,
Thomas Starkey.

The following letter is interesting as exhibiting Starkey in a new light, that of a lover. The date is evidently before 1522, while he was still a young man, and it is written with a curious admixture of Italian, which shows plainly that he had not perfectly mastered the French tongue.¹

Much as I have often blamed nature because she has not placed windows in the breasts of men, so that their feelings might be understood without words, much more I now blame her, being as I am in a foreign country, so that I cannot in fit terms express my feelings towards you.

But true affection may often be expressed in rude and unpolished language: believe not, therefore, that these are the

Combien² au temps passe quant je pensoys de les oueres de nature il me sembloyt, che dan la male forme la nature des homes, pur ce che na pas fayt quelch petytes fenestres dauant le cure, affyn che sans parolles on les pouyt cognoystre laffectyon, touteffoys au present Je le troue plus graunt faute che jamays parauant, dautant che je constitue en vn pays estraunge la ou je ne puy exprymier avec parolles ou termes ce che mon pouer cour panse. neanmoyns, quant je me souuyent de vostre graunt humanyte & cure benygne, cela me ha balliva (?) peu de hardyesse pur ourye la buche, en faysant croyre ausi che vous non regarderay poynt la rudesse de mes parolles, mayns tant solement laffectyon du mon cure, le quel se monstra volonter plus souant en rudes parolles, che en elegantes & bien composees: et affyn che je ne vous donne trop grand fascherye avec mes lettres en peu de parolles je vous

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

² *Byen souant was written first, then altered to Combien.*

declaryteray lyntentyon de mon cure,¹ maye au commencement je vous supplie, madame, de vous persuader, che ces parolles ensuyuant sont escript non pas avec loueur vyle & commune, maye avec les vyue sprytes de mon cure. Depuys le primer jur che jay veus la beuty synguler & la bonne grace che est en vous, et depuyse² che jay cogneu & experymente la honte honestete avec les synguler vertues, jay este pryns de vn si synguler affectyon envers vous, che jamays depuys mon pouer cour a este au sa lyberty acustume: il non panse ne juor ne nuyt de altre chose synon de vous, et de telle sorte est rany che me semble che yl est plus verytablement avec vous che avec moy. Yl ha lasse mon corps toute desolee, sans joy & sans pleyssyr, comment vous pourays voyr si jammays vous aues pryt gard de cela: et aunsy vous voyes laffectyon de mon cure. maye anchore, affyn che vous saches la qualyte de icelle voys moy madame. Il non tende a aultre fyne si non de vous fayre honoure & servyce, et comme de vous vertues lha sa source & fountayne, ausy en icelles, ha son fyne, comme je vous declareray plus largement quant a la vostra bonne grace playre che je parleray a vous de ce purpos. Et purce, madame, je vous supplie par lamor che vous porte al honoure & honestete de bonys gentylhomys che lamor & laffectyon che je porte envers vous est si honeste che vous playse daccepter de bone cure, affyn che vous me restituer en mon liberty & che de cela. Se vous aues lu cecy je vous supplie de relyer plus dylygement & prenes les lettres escriptes a vous, purce che vous estes la dame a la quele je suys plus subiecte che au dame en ce monde: vous aues mon pouer cour a vostre commandement & purce je vous supplie tete lay gentylment selon.

words of common praise but rather of deep affection of the heart.

From the first day that I beheld your singular beauty and grace,

my heart, as a captive, has been able to think of nothing but you.

of your honour and your services

as I trust to declare to you in words when it shall please you to speak with me.

When you have read these few words over, read them again and again, since you are the one to whom alone in the world my heart is captive.

Here again we have Starkey in an unexpected character. Apparently he had forgotten himself at a dinner, and under the influence of drink had used language unfitted for a theologian and a philosopher. There is no clue to the date of this letter, which is reprinted from the original in the Record Office.

¹ Mon cure is written *etor* mes lettres *erased*.

² Written in the margin there is here as follows, but without any connection or caret:—le cuer non serral (?) iamays repos che ha fiance en chose mortalle o che ame plus le choses mortales che immortales, car lamor desordonee est la causa de toutes les maux en ce monde, comme bien ordonnee est causa de toute bienuys (?).

Well did Pliny say that nothing in this world was more difficult than to judge the life and character of a man,

than whom not even Proteus himself was more changeable.

As philosophers and theologians should of all men be the most quiet and forbearing,

what could be more foolish and unbecoming than for a theologian so to forget himself as, under the influence of wine, to use scurrilous language, as you did at our friend Wittinton's dinner. Wherefore, my dear Starkey, repent, and show yourself, as before, a pattern of sobriety, modesty, and self-restraint.

Quam multa alia docte atque prudenter Plinius scripserit, tum illud mihi quam prudentissime ac sapientissime dixisse videtur vitam hominis multos recessus habere multasque latebras, vt plane nihil sit difficilius quam de vita ac moribus hominum iudicare. Nam doctrina si qua est in aliquo, si qua dicendi vis ac eloquentia, facile seipsam prodit atque erumpit. Nec domini latere potest vtque vitro sese plerumque gestiat proferre ac diffundere. At mores hominis difficilius cognoscuntur mutanturque sepius; Vt nihil sit homine fere versipellius nihil mutabilius; Non proteus ille, quovis etiam Chamelionte versutior ac mutabilior, vt multa alia omittam. An non videmus fere mansueto ac mait ingenio homines remissos admodum ac tarde indolis vitra modum excandescere? Nam quemadmodum nihil est his hominibus odiosius qui sese sapientes existimant nihil non sibi, amicis autem parum tribuentes, nusquam non molesti, contumaces, loquaces, refractarii—qualem te minime esse iudico—sic contra nihil his amabilibus qui aliis plurimum, sibi autem nihil aut parum arrogantes, de suo etiam jure vbique decedere parati, ne dicam alieno: multum se intra suas vires contrahunt modesteque silent; audientes libenter iudicium suspendunt, aut certe de quocumque iudicare parum tutum esse putant ac plerumque etiam temerarium. Contentio enim pro re parua sicuti mulierum ac sophistarum propria est. Ita virorum est moderata ac tempestiva taciturnitas maxime philosophorum ac theologorum, qui vt nomine ipso patet non de quibuscumque rebus loqui debeant sed de deo ac diuinis, et fratrum amicorumque infirmitates et animi motus quosdam equo animo ferre, secundum illud evangelium, 'ne dicas fratri tuo, raha,' Quid enim, vt probe nosti, fertili theologo stultius aut intolerabilius? Porro quid minus conuenit homini theologo quam scurrilibus ludis ac jocis et, vt domestico vtamur vocabulo, quates (!) theologieque sessionis grauitatem inflectere cena communis nostri amici Wittinton. Id fecit ac mens vino flagrans continuisque potibus madula non potest non variis tum desideriis tum affectibus estuare. Quare, mi Starke, vtraque manu aut si manibus cum hieronimo lapide pectus contundas et iterum ad sobrietatis, modestie, verecundie, taciturnitatis exemplar mihi ceterisque amicis omnibus imitandum te conuertas. Nemo nunquam sic a sese degenerauit vt non facile rursus mansuescat si modo culture vt Horacius inquit patientem commodet aurem. Vale.

§ 19. The following letter in Starkey's handwriting,¹ and apparently addressed to Cromwell, seems to refer to his *Exhortation*. In it he protests against its being considered a fault in his book that he had inclined neither to the one side nor the other, a feature which he himself considers as the "chefe vertue of the oratyon." Moreover, considering the persons to whom it was addressed, he thinks he had gone into the point quite as much as was necessary. At the close he intimates his intention of publishing "a certayn fantasye," by which he probably means his *Dialogue*.

Syr, I had thought thes days past to haue spoken vn to you concernyng the lytyl oratyon wych lately I wryte & your sentence of the same, but bycause I haue seen you euer so occupyd, I haue not wythout cause hytherto abstaynyd, fearyng I schold trowbel your necessary besynes wyth my communicatyon. Wherfor I schal beseech you thes few wordys in wrytyng to accept, aftur your custumyd maner, & then to rede at your conuenient leyser. Syr, syth you schowyd me of late what you thought of the boke, I haue perusyd the thyng agayn & weyd hyt wyth my selfe somewhat more dylygently, &, playnly to confesse vn-to you the truthe, thys I wyl say, that as you haue jugyd of the mater so hyt ys indede; thys mean ys not put out at large wych you requyre, wherin you haue jugyd aftur a-nother sort then some other haue downe to whome you dyd exhybte the thyng to rede, who, the chefe vertue of the oratyon, yf ther be any therin conteynyed, as I vnderstode, haue notyd for a grete faute, & that was bycause I apperyd to be ouer vehement agayn the one extremyte, & to be of nother parte, but betwix both indyfferent, the cause of the wych iugement I wyl not touch but leue to your prudence. but, syr, to you I schal speke as I thynke, wych ys thys—that, euen lyke as you haue downe in al other thyngys, wherof at any tyme hyt hath plesyd you to talke wyth me, euer touchyd the stryng & knot of the mater, in so much that of your communicatyon I haue geddryd more frute of truth then I haue downe of any other man lyuyng syth I cam here to my custrey, so you haue downe vndowtydly in thys, for thys mean wych you requyre ys not at length set out in my boke, nor I can not tel whether my wyt be suffycient or abul therto, for this mean in al thyng ys a strange stryng, hard to stryke apon & wysely to touch, for by thys the armony of thys hole world ys conteynyed in hys natural courae & bewty: by thys al cytyle ordur & pollycy ys maynteynyd in cytes & townys wyth gud cunylyte: by thys manys mynd wyth al kynd of vertue garnychyd ys brought to hys quyetnes & felycyte, and by thys here

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.*

in our purpos al gud & true relygion wythout impyety or superstycion ys stablyschyd to goddys honowre & glory among al chrystyan natyonys. Wherfor to set out thys mean, as hyt ys a thyng most hyely to be desyryd, so my wytt & capacitye hyt for-passyth; & yet the mater I haue some what touchyd, &, peraventure, as much as ys necessary for them to whom I dyrectyd my communicacyon, for as to the pepul thys partycular mean fully to presente I thynke hyt schold not nede, to whome you know obedience ys more necessary to thyngys decred by commyn authoritye then scrupulose knolege & exacte dysquysytyon, the wych thyng perteynyth to hyar philosophy. And for thys cause I thynke in the Conceyl of nece the summe of our fayth was geddryd & brought in to certayn artycles & so propownyd in *simbolo* to al chrystyan natyonys as a thyng to be had in hart sufficyent to the pepul wythout farther dysquysytyon, and in the rest euer gynyng make obedience to the ordur & custume in euery cuntre stablyschyd wyth concord & vnyte: and thys same thyng apperyth sufficyent to me that the pepul & body of the commynalty, euery man dowyng hys offyce & duty as he ys callyd & by goddys prouysyon appoyntyd here in thys wordly pollycy, schold haag apon the commyn ordur in euery cuntre & leyn ther-vnto wyth sure fayth & expectacyon of euer-lasting lyfe, here aftur to be had by the mere benefyte & gudnes of god, who to vs, so trustyng in hym, hath made such promys of hys benygnyte. Thys ys the most sure knot aftur my judgment of al chrystyan cyuylte, to the wych yf any pryuate person repugne sedyceously, mouyd by any scrupule of conscyence superstyciously conceyuyd, yf he may nother be brought to knolege by gud instructyon, nor yet to obedience wyth gentyl admonytyon, he ys not worthy to lyue in that commyn pollycy, nor to be a membyr therof, as one that abhorryth from al gud ordur & cyuylte; non other wyse than he doth apon the other syde, who, by arrogant opynyon hyghly conceyuyd, al rytys & custumys ecclesiastical viturly despysyth & tredyth vnderfote: of the wych ij sortys I feare ther ys no small nombur here in our natyon, as I haue before more largely notyd. But Syr I trust that the gudnes of hym who hathe inspyryd in-to the hart of our prynce thys alteracyon of pollycy schal also gyue hym grace to fynd out the most conuenient mean to set hyt forward wyth a commyn quyetnes, to hys honowre & glory, for the wych I wyll not cesse to pray, for to other thyng lytyl seruyth my power & capacitye; and yet syr thys one thyng I dare affyrme & boldly say, that, though in my oracyon I haue not presentyd at length thys mean wherof you spake most prudently, yet yf ther were any such powar in my wrytyng & probabyl persuasyon wych myght induce in-to the hartys of the pepul of the scrupulose sorte such obedience as I haue ther touchyd, schowyng also the maner how they schold ther-to be inducyd, I wold not dowte, I say, but that in concord & vnyte they schold agre wythout scrupule of conscyence to al such thyngys as here be decred by commyn authoritye. But thys lyth not in my

powar, wherfor I schal commyt al to the prouydence of god, reseruyng yet a certayn fantasye herin to my selfe, wych I wyl, yf hyt may so plesse you, at conuenient leyser open vn-to you, the mean tyme besechyng you to pardon me of thys my rudenes in wrytyng, the wych I pray you, yf hyt be your plesure, when you haue red, commyt to the fyre.¹

§ 20. I have reserved the following letter² for the last, not only as being in my opinion the latest in date, but also inasmuch as it is that in which Starkey dedicates his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., and explains his motives in writing it. It does not help us much in ascertaining the date of that work: we can only see that it was after June 1536, since Pole's book is referred to; and if Strype is correct in stating that Lupset accompanied Pole to Rome (see p. xlv), it must have been after January 1537. The true date I believe to be about June 1538, since it is not at all probable that Starkey would have ventured to dedicate to Henry a book in which Pole was so favourably introduced, or to speak of him so highly in the present dedication, while his bitter language was still fresh in the king's mind.

Long and much at sundry tymis I haue with my selfe, most nobull prince, reasonyd and consideryd to what end and porpos man by nature schold be creat and brought forth here in to this lyght, for though man so lyue commynly giuing himselfe to all wordly vanyte as ther were in him nothing immortall and heuenly, yet wen I be hold his gudly forme, fascyon, and stature, with so much comly be-hauyur, and then considur also his grete wit and pollyci wyth such a meruelouse memory, that all thinges therby he comprehendith, I cannot but thinke that he ys formyd and made to a hier end and porpos then any other lyuing creature [on] erthe; I cannot but thinke and playnly juge that he ys brought forth to the intent that all such giftys as be to him by the benefyte of nature and gudnes of god aboue all other mortall creaturys giuen he schold commyn and aply to the profyt [of] other and setting forth of goddys glory, to the wych porpos me semyth euer he schold dyrect and appoynt all his actys and dedys, consellys and thoughtys, as to the chiefe end shortly to say aftur my jugement to the wych he ys borne and of nature brought forth. and so by this consideratyon moud long and many a day most nobull prince much desirouse I haue byne to serue your grace and my cuntry imploing such giftys as of his mere gudnes hit hath plesid him god to comyn vnto me must gladly in your seruyce

¹ Endorsed in a late hand. "Cranmere, as I suppose. A declaracion of worke w^{ch} he had mynded to publihe."

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

to the setting forth of goddys honowre and glory, to the wych I juge myselfe so to be bunden of ryght dewty, that except in some parte occasyon serue me to satysfye the same, the rest of my lyfe schall appear vnto me both tedyouse and displeasnt. wherfor seing that nother tyme nor place hath not yet seruid me nor mynistryd occatyon of declaring myn affect and ardent desire concerning the same I haue now alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting wych I trust to your gracyes wysedome and jugement schall appear to this tyme nothing dysconuenient, after that I haue a lytill at large openid vnto your hig[h]ness the processe of the mater and the cawse wych hath mouid me now at this tyme to the writing of the same. after that I had spent parte of my youth in the study of philosophi and therby somewhat perceuyd the dygnite of manys nature inflamyd I was with a grete desire to take sum experyence of the manerys of other pepull in strange natyon to the intent I myght therby of such thinges wych I had in bokys red, geddur and confyrme a more stabull and sure jugement: wherapon I went streyght in to the cuntre of Italy, as to the place most famyd both with grete lerning and gud and just pollyci, by the reson wherof glad I was ther certayn yiris to be conuersant as dilygently as I coud obseruing ther lerning ther in hye philosophy as ther manerys and practyse in commyn pollysi, by the wych obseruatyon I was somewhat better instructe at my return into myn owne cuntrey indifferently to considur & wey the custumys and manerys of myn owne cuntremen with the polycy vsid here in our natyon, whereapon I lokyd as a stranger as me thought in no parte corrupt by any affectyon, but indiffernt jugement euery thing examyning: and so well noting the manerys here vsid at home and comparyng them with other vsid in straunge natyon I haue fund grete correctyon with much abuse in law and pollyci wherof by long obseruatyon I haue geddryd a certayne commentary and compylid as hit were a lytill boke of the same. The processe whereof I will bre[ve]lly vnto your grace open and schow now at this tyme, for as much as [I] perceyue your highness now nothing more curith and hath in mynd than the extyrpatyon of all abusys both in custume and law by processe of time growen in here in this your commynwelth, by the reson whereof grete hope I haue onys yet to see that veray and true commyn wel whereof I haue with myselfe fansid here in your reame to haue place and by your high wysedome and pollyci here to be stablyschid and set to the grete comforte of this present age and of all our posterite. and for as much as my porpos ys in this commentary to tuch the maner and mean of the restytutyon of this true commyn wele and Iuste pollyci I haue deniding the boke in to iij partys in the fyrst openid as far as my pore wite and sklender lernyn[g] wyll serue what thing hit ys that men so much speke of and call a commynwele or a gud and Iust pollyci, and wherein hit principally stondith and chefully is grondyd: in the seconde part I haue geddryd as my lytill experyence hath seruyd me

the most commyn and notabull abusus, both in manerys custommys and all commyn lawys wych in proses of tyme are entryd among vs, whereby we are slippyd from that gud and iuste pollicy: and in the theyrd parte fynally I haue touchid the maner and mean how thes abusys both in custum and law may be reformyd and the treu commyn wele a-mong vs restoryd. and for bycawse the restitutyon hereof lyth chefely in the prouydence of god, and your hie wysdom and pollicy, I haue now said this boldness to present this rude commentary vnto your maiesty trusting therby to put your grace in remembrance and to mynistur some oocatyon of the innuentyon of many other more conuenient meanys of the restoryng of this commyn welle, then other my wyt or capacite [can] consyue or attayne, for I dowt not at all, but that the gudnes of him, who hath gyuen your hienes lyght of iugment aboute the rest of princys now reyning in our days, by the reson whereof you haue vtterly plukkyd vp the rote of all abuse, this vtward powar and intolerabull tyranny of rome, wherwith the christyan natyon long hath byne oppressyd by pretext and colour of relygion, I dowt not, I say, but the same gudnes of god shall inspyre your most nobull harte with such lyght and knolege that to your heyne hit shaft be, aftur so long vs and experyence had in this your reyne to see and perceue the most conuenient mean of the vtur extyrpatyon of all other lyke abusyon. this hope and sure trust I haue wych hath so incorragid me that I haue not fayned to exhibyte to your grace this rude commentary the wych I haue formyd in a dialoge and a famylyar commynycatyon had betwxt ij of your gracyz most true and fayfull seruantys and subiectys, of the wych the one ys depertyd to the seruyce of him as I trust, to whome all christian hartys relygiously here serue in erth, Thomas Lupest of wych, if hit had pleasid god, your grace schold haue had true and fayfull seruyce, the other ys yet I trust in lyfe, Maister Raynold Pole, of whose virtue and gudnes, yf he coud haue seen that thing by his lernyng wych your most notabull clarkys in your reame and many other hath approuyd, your heyne schold haue had before this certayn, and sure experyence, of thes wych thing also yet I dow not vtterly dyspeare, for I trust hit shalnot be long before he shall declare vnto your grace of his wysdome and iugment playne and manyfest argu]ment, and the mean tyme I shall most humbly besech your heyne that hit may plesse yow at your conuenient leyser to obserue the commynycatyon be twyx his old frend Maister Lupest and him hereaftur comprysyd, frome the wych I wyll no longer¹ let your grace by this rude preface beseching your hienes what so euer hit be to except hit with your accustomed humanyte much more regardding my wyll then my dede, wych ys and euer shall be to the vttermust of my powar but to serue your pryncely mayeste to your honowre and goddys glory.

¹ The words *frome the wych I wyll no* are repeated by mistake in MS.

§ 21. Extract from the *Jewel of Joy*, by Thomas Becon, referred to above, p. xlviii.

Trueth it is. For I my selfe know many townes and villages sore decayed, for y^t where as in times past there wer in some town an hundred houtholdes there remain not now thirty, in some fifty, ther are not now ten, yea (which is more to be lamented) I knowe townes so wholly decayed, that there is neyther sticke nor stone standyng as they vse to say.

Where many men had good lyuinges, and mayntained hospitality, able at times to helpe the kyng in his warres, and to susteyne other charges, able also to helpe their pore neighboures, & vertuously to bring vp theyr children in Godly letters and good scyences, nowe sheepe and conies deuoure altogether no man inhabiting the afore sayed places. Those beastes which were created of God for the

Paul. i^o. [viii. 4, 7.] nouryshment of man doe nowe deuoure man. The Scripture sayeth that God made both shepe and oxen wyth all the beastes of the fildes subiecte vnto man, but now man is subiect vnto them. Where man was wonte to beare rule there

Beastes abuse men. they now beare rule. Where man was wont to haue hys living, there they nowe onely lyue. Where man was wonte to inhabyte, ther they now raign and grease. And the cause of all thys

Gentlemen Shepmongers. wretchednesse and beggery in the common weale are the greedy Gentylnen, whyche are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul

Philp. ii. [21] wrighteth. Al sake their own aduantage and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollars and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroyers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who fal to the grounda. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him

of worldly possessions. The wyse man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y^t defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraude the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciablenes sel al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very mansleares? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friars, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they greedely gripe. And yet where the cloysters kept hospitality let out their fermes at a reasonable pryce, noryshed scholes, brought vp youth in good letters, they did none of all these thinges. They lyghtlye esteeme, and in a maner contemne Priestes, parsons, vicars, Prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embrace and niggardly retain. So that nowe they are become in effect although not in name, verye Monkes, Friars, Chanons, Priestes, Persons, Vicars, Prebendaries and at the last what not? and yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not? The state of England was neuer so miserable, as it is at this present. Good Lorde haue mercy vpon vs and put in the hartes of the king and of his counsell to redres these intolerable pestilences of the common weale, or els make hast to dissolue this wretched world by thy glorious comming vnto the iudgement: where thou shalt render to euery man accordyng to hys dedes, least if we longe remayne in this to much wretchednesse, we be compelled throughe pouerty to attempt vnrighteous thinges, and forswear the name of our Lord God. (Becon, *Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.)

*Gene. xiii.
Eccl. xxxiii.
[31.]*

*Bread what it
signifieth.*

Marks well.

Rom. ii.

Pro. xxi.



APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise,

COMPOSED OF LATE IN MEATRE ROYALL
BY THE SYMPLE AND VNLEARNED

SIR WILLIAM FORREST, FREEISTE.

MS. Reg. 17 D 3.

OF William Forrest, the author of the work from which the following extract is taken, we know but little. He tells us himself, in the Prologue to his *History of Joseph*, that he was "sometyme chapplayne to the noble Queene Marye." It is evident, as Warton says, that he "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers;" for although he is believed to have been a retainer of Cardinal Wolsey, he did not hesitate, after the fall of the latter, to speak of him in terms hardly less strong than those of Skelton. During the reign of Edward VI. he wrote and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset a metrical translation of the *Psalms*, as well as the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, and in the last year of Mary's reign he dedicated to her his *History of Grisild the Second*, which he says himself he had written twenty years previously, but which he had judiciously suppressed during the reign of Edward VI.

Besides the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, Forrest was the author of the following works:—

A Life of the Blessed Virgin, and numerous short poems, preserved in MS. Harl. 1703.

A Metrical Version of the Psalms, referred to above, dated 1551 MS. Reg. 17 A xxi.

"A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second Gresiold, practised
STARKEY

f

not long out of this time in much part tragedious as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyric on Katharine of Arragon, whom the author compares to patient Grisild, and her husband to Earl Walter. The original MS. is in the Bodleian, being No. 2 of Ant. & Wood's MSS., and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1875 by the Rev. W. D. Macray.

The History of Joseph, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, and finished 11th April 1569. MS. Reg. 18 C xiii., and Univ. Coll., Oxford, No. 88.

A full account of these works, as well as all the particulars of Forrest's life known to us, will be found in the Introduction to Mr Macray's *History of Grisild the Second*.

The *Pleasant Poesye of Princelye Practise* professes to be a translation from a work composed by Aristotle for the use of his pupil Alexander the Great:—

"This symple booke whiche yee in hande nowe haue,
I haue comprised in sorte as yee see,
firste deuised by Aristotele graue
Vnto kinge Alexandres maiestee" [*lf. 3, back*].

In reality the work is a version of the treatise written by Ægidius Romanus towards the close of the 13th century, with the title *De Regimine Principum*, which itself is a translation or rather paraphrase of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a spurious compilation attributed to Aristotle. (See Warton, ed. Hazlitt, III. pp. 19, 20.)

The book opens with a "prologue vnto the kinges maiestie Edward the Sixthe, descriuinge partialie y^e fruite of this notable warke whiche heere dothe ensue." The second chapter is a "notable description what a kinge is, And what signification in his regales, as Anoyntinge, Swoorde, bawle, scepture, crowne, and Throne dothe reste." This is succeeded by several chapters on the duty of a king towards God, and at leaf 28 the author treats of "the maner and solacyngeste moeste conuenient for a kynge, bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to Recreat his spyrytis:" thus he recommends—

"Dynner onys ended rise not vpp lightelye,
haue then some noyse of musycall sownde,
as harpe, vyall, lute or some symphonie;
Virgynalls, rybecke, withe Taberlet rownde,
Semblyblye handeled in their monochorde" [*lf. 29, bk.*].

or else—

“Att tables, chesse, or cardis awhile *your selfe* repose.”

Chapter 13 shows “howe a kynge ought too marrye, what wise and circumspecte weyes hee shall vse yn chusyng his Ladye, and soueraigne spowes: And howe hee shall in moste amyable wyse chearische, looue, and make of her.”

“A kynge godde forbeade too bee nuefanglede,
his wief taxchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce;
thearefore make searche if shee bee entangled.”

“Too marye for looue” he thinks “more decent” than “too matche for riches or Realms domynyon.”

“A younge Damoyzell her mynde too let fall
Vpon an olde jaade, that is his luste paste;
Or a fresche youngelinge vppon an olde wiche,
too herke thearunto, it makethe my backe iche” [lf. 40].

Directions for the proper treatment of ambassadors, the administration of justice, the education of the king's children, and a strict inquiry into the misery of the poor follow, and are succeeded by the passage here reprinted.

Chapter 22 shows “Howe a kyng owght too bee muche desyrowse too knowe thopynion of his commons towardis hym by thexploration of some secreat seruant whome hee doithe beste credite,”—a suggestion in fact for the establishment of political spies.

“Vayne clatteringe ofte risethe men emonge,
And owte of doubte their tungen shall walke and chatt,”

and therefore

“Some secreat Seruaunte let hym owte espye,
that hath Discretion and pregnaunte wytt:
to walke abroade in sorte moste secreatlye,
in Commone companyes to tawlke and sytt:
And what he heareth for to commende ytt,
other disprayse, to this ende and effecte
that hee maye so walke withoute all suspecte” [lf. 74].

Although we cannot say much for the poetry of the book, yet it is noticeable for some of the suggestions made in it—suggestions which have since been carried into effect, and become part of our system of domestic government. Such, for instance, are the author's proposals for compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the

requisite fees ; and for the appointment of an "overseer or controller," corresponding to our School-Board officer. Again, we have his suggestion for a general valuation of all land by government commissioners, such valuation to form the basis on which rents, rates, &c. should be calculated.

Passing by the author's complaints of the oppression of the poor, I would point out his appeal for true and just dealing on the part of cloth manufacturers, which comes home to us with especial force at the present time, when we hear so many complaints as to the "dressing," the "shoddy," and other adulterations practised in England.

The Royal MS. 17 D 3 is a small folio parchment volume of 78 leaves, besides several which are blank, the work being, as shown by the index, incomplete. In the "table conteynynge the title of all and singulare the Chapiters in this present booke," which begins on leaf 4, 37 chapters are designated, and we are further told that "at the ende of this warke shall ensue certaine narrations / exemplifyinge sundry of the maters of the aforesaide tytles, to be fownde by the fygures at thende of the saide titles / or their chapiters."

There are, however, only 24 chapters in the MS., nor does it appear that ever there existed any more.

The book is presented in the first instance to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, in order that it may have his approval previous to its being offered to the king. The dedication is as follows :—

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edwarde, Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicounte Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vncle vnto oure moste drede soueraigne lord, kinge Edwarde the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royall person, Realmes and Dominions, bee honour, healthe, and Hyghe prosperite, Withe (after this lief) aeternaⁿ foelicite, So wisshethe his daylie Oratour sir William forreste, preeiste" [*leaf* 2].

Following this is a short address of 16 stanzas to the duke.

On leaf 7, back, is a drawing representing the author presenting his work to Edward VI., who is seated, crowned, on his throne. Forrest himself is represented as a young man in a priest's gown, and with long flowing hair not tonsured.

On leaf 8 follow the title and dedication of the book as under:—

HERE ensuithē A notable warke / called the pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise composed of late in meatre royall by the symple and vnlearned / sir William forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A booke entiteled The gouernaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele / wrote too his discypyle Alexandre / the great and mightie Conqueroure.

1548.

To the moste mightie and puisaunte Prynce Edwarde the Sexthe, kynge of Engelande / Fraunce / and Irelande, Defendour of the faithē And heere in earthe (yndrew christe) the supreme heade of bothe Churches / Engelande / and Irelande, bee regne in state moste fortunate : with thuppren hande ouer his enemies alweyes / thorowe his ayde / by whome all kynges heere dothe governe.

William Forrest.

SUMMARY OF THE EXTRACT.

After a short disquisition on the origin of civilization and monarchies, he (lxxxvii/14)¹ refers to the means adopted by the rich to keep up prices, viz., by buying up grain of all sorts, and only allowing it to find its way into the market by driblets; he (lxxxviii/16) reminds the king that the great support of the throne is the "more some," and protests (lxxxviii/18) against foreigners becoming rich at the expense of Englishmen, and concludes the chapter (lxxxix/21) by complaints as to the ruinous fines inflicted by landlords on their tenants.

The next chapter opens with a protest against idleness, the "patrones of all maner myschief" (xci/5); he suggests (xci/8) the issuing of a proclamation appointing the stocks or flogging as the punishment of idlers, and those who "at ale howse sitt, at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that cards men call." Children he thinks should be sent to school at the age of *four* (xcii/12), and as a labouring man may not be able to pay for his children's schooling, he would have free schools in every town (xcii/13); and an overseer to look up idlers and children (xciii/17), who is to have £3 or £4 a year, and must be an honest townsman (xciii/19), and be appointed for one year on probation (xciii/19). Leaving this subject, he turns to wool,

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the pages and stanzas; thus lxxxvii/14 means p. lxxxvii stanza 14.

that great commodity for which come many "sustours" (xciv/21), and for which Englishmen have to pay sixfold price through allowing it to be exported in the raw state by "Foryners and Turks" (xciv/22). After telling us the rate of wages, 1*d.* to 2*d.* a day (xcv/26), he complains of the great rise in prices (xcv/27), in rents (xcv/29) and in meat (xcv/30). Englishmen, he says, can't live on roots and herbs, or "such beggerye baggage;" they must have meat, "after their olde vsage" (xcv*/33).

In the next chapter he reverts to wool, which should not be exported raw (xcvi/4), but made up in England; the cloth to be well shrunk and dressed (xcvi*/6); all faulty cloth to be retained for use at home, lest foreigners should "fynde vs amyssse;" for, as he says, "what the Salsyman is the ware ofte dothe teache" (xcvi*/6). No wool to be sold at less than ten nor at more than fifteen shillings a tod (xcvii/11).

Leaving wool, he returns to the "raging rentis," which should be restored to their former rate by commissioners, who should fix the valuation of each farm (xcvii/14); reminds the king that the yeomen are the backbone and glory of England (xcvii*/16); declares that bad landlords go straight to hell (xcvii*/19), for they show favour (xcvii*/21), and take away the closes attached to cottages, and yet charge the same rent (xcviii/22). He then complains of the large holdings and sheep-farms (xcviii/25), and of the nobles meddling in trade, "chopping and changing as market men dothe" (xcviii*/30), and calls on the king to devise some improvement in the condition of the labouring classes, who would be encouraged to work more if their wages were higher (xcix*/39), and who at the lowest should have six or eight pence a day (xcix*/40); they would then be able to marry, and by so doing repeople the towns now deserted and ruined.

¶ Howe a kynge speciall ye ought tattende and proude leaf 54.
 for a Commonne Wealthe, and too his powre: too
 abolische vttrel ye all kynde of meanys that work-
 ethe anye annoyaunce or hynderaunce vnto the same,
Caput decimum octauum,

[1]

[I]f men shoulde gather and perpende in mynde, leaf 54, back.
 why kinges and rulers firste ordeyned weare: Monarchies and
 aithe wee are all come of wone stirpe or kynde: offices did not
 this hathe heeretofore benescanned manywheare. 4 exist in the earli-
 As scarcitee of thinges causethe dearthe tappeare, est times,
 so, in fewe, at this worldis erection
 thinges weare not brought too their due perfection. 7

[2]

By pproces as the same can springe and growe, but grew up by
 and men of experience gathered the fruyte: degrees.
 Wone then labored another touerthrowe:
 thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 11
 As suche prospered in their saide pursuete
 at laste it fell by wyse perswasyon
 men too beare rule and haue domynation. 14

[3]

Whoe, by wisdomes and magnanymytee,
 ordered their weyes so wondrefull too tell, At first the Rulers
 vndre the forme of highe nobyltye: were the worthiest
 vntoo the peoples contentation so well: 18 in the state,
 that they them heelde as woorthieste of the bell,
 in peace and warr afore them too take place:
 and they tassiste them in all maner case. 21

[4]

When thus (too rule) men had the State in hande,
 and had woone people at their commaundement:
 they caste all meanys in State suche Still too Stande:
 as bettre too rule then be obeydent, 25
 aduoydinge althinges of daungres immynent.
 by suche behauyur of highe woorthynes.
 that more and more their fauour dyd encreas. 28

[5]

In all their Studye and wise compasyng,
 their priuate wealthe they dyd postponerate:
 the Commune commoditie firste preferryng,
 of thiose that they had too them made subiugate, 32 leaf 55.
and looked after
the public good
rather than their
own advantage.

vndre higheste weies of looue affectionate :
as if thynges Stoodde in indifferencye
their ayde inclyned too the more partye. 35

[6]

Of wone that thus can fashion his affaires,
as fame the same in due kynde can dylate :
another tooke light too bee of his heires :
in suyng the Steppes of suche men approbate, 39
too whome then was geuen the brute of estate :
as woorshippe, honour and highe nobyltee :
thus woorthye woorkinge sett men firste in degrea. 42

[7]

Laws and Political Institutions
were introduced.

As ferdre in reigne grue their contynnaunce,
theye caste and purueyed for the weale publyke :
by moste honeste meyns of lawes ordynaunce :
sought owte wondreslye by witt polytyke, 46
In Europe, Asya, and also Affryke.
the barbarouse behauyour beastelye and nought :
too Cyuyle maners at the firste was thus brought. 49

[8]

Sythen contynuyng in wondrefull wise,
withe muche furtheraunce too many a Region :
wheare noble princis moste excellent precise
hathe on them weytinge many a legion, 53
As yee (of the highest) accomptyd for wone,
whois wise endeuer attendethe noles
in semblable sorte too doo your busynes. 56

[9]

leaf 56, back.
The duty of
Princes is to put
down all Vice

Not (as too saye) of free liberalitea.
too chuse in the same whither yee will or not :
but bownden by Office of Principalitee :
nothingshoulde els more a princis honour blot, 60
what knyttethe too the contrarye too loose the knot.
and what goethe loose in hynderinge the same
too see a restreynte : els are yee too blama. 63

10]

by severe punish-
ment, and to
promote Virtue.

Off meyns too speake concernynge the saide case.
firste, is too bee had in consyderation :
(by Streyte punysching vice in euerye place :)
that Vertue maye bee hadde in digne estymation. 67
when synne so is hadde in detestation,
that whiche seemed (by custome) afore light
shalbee scene odyouse in euerye mannys sigha. 70

[11]

Vertue thus mayntenyd and Vice depressed :	
then are the people like the Gardeyne plot,	
that is depured, leaulyd, and dressed :	
too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot,	74
As your wisdom and Counsaile dothe well wote,	
for the Commune wealthes beste preservation :	
nowe maye yee put in exercitation.	77

In this way will
the people best be
advantaged.

[12]

See, and well pondre in all your dooinges,	
whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude :	
that wone pryuate persone in vse of thinges :	
dothe not annoy or harme a multytude,	81
wone, withe the lyuynges of fyue too bee endude :	
of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye,	
the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye,	84

Private advantage
must not operate
against the public
weal,

[13]

Or if yee schall of affabyltee	
vnto some wone suche Libertie graunte	
tenparke or enclose for his Commoditee :	
that, the hynderaunce of moe myght waraunte ;	88
or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte :	
by bynges or sellynge too others hynderaunce :	
no suche thinge suffrethe a Cyuyle ordynaunce.	91

leaf 56.
either in inclosing
of commons or in
trade.

[14]

In tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker ¹	
Corne, Grayne, or Chafre hopinge vppon dearthe :	
for his pryuate wealthe so daylye too hucker : ²	93
this crie the for vengeaunce too heauyn from the earthe :	
Leste it shoulde happen it many wone fearthe,	
ffor suche solayne snydges ³ caste reformation	
by forfeiture too the poores sustentation.	98

The rich should
not be allowed to
hoard up grain, &c
in order to raise
prices—

[15]

The poore for neade is dresuyn too make sale.	
the Riche reserueth and muckerthe vpp more :	
by whiche risethe this commune Prouerbe tale :	
Some muste bee Sauers, Store is no sore ;	102
so is it indeade if the Riche therfore	
wolde worke after this neighbourlye deuyse :	
too helpe the poore for a resonable pryce.	105

a cause of great
distresse.

¹ Heape up. ² Higgle, trade. ³ Miserly persons.

[16]

A kingdom is not supported by a few, but by the many,

A kyngis honour, disertlye too aduerte,
is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortified
by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer parte:
but by the more some it hathe euer bene tried. 109
Then ought a kyng for his Commons prouyed,
that wone clubbed cobbe¹ shoulde not so encroche 111
an hundred mennys lyuynges: it weare greate reproche.

[17]

leaf 84, back.
and therefore the few must not be benefited at the expense of the many:

Your realmys Commodityes (in what it dothe consiste,)
for twoe or thre too haue the specyall trade,
the publike weale is sore in that place myste,
and goethe too decaye, as flowres doth fall and fade. 116
In this eache Potentate by witt muste wade,
bothe by hym selfe and his wise Counseile:
that pryuate commodities not so maye preuaile. 119

[18]

nor foreigners enriched to the loss of Englishmen.

If marchauntes that be too yow but Straungers,
(althoughe your Custome by them bee copiousse)
shoulde bee enriched and made great geyners:
your owne hynderyd, and made indigeousse: 123
this weare a mattier (in maner) litigiousse,
too make them murmure and their hartes withdrawe
from the due obseruation of the Lawe. 126

[19]

Our own countrymen should be looked after before strangers.

Chieflye your owne yee ought too respecte:
for yee of them in your neede may bee bolde:
where Straungers passethe not your fauour to reiecte,
or in your right title will oughtes withe yow holde. 130
Custome vncumlye: is too bee controulede.
where pryuate woorkinge shall shewe eydent:
too a Commonthe too doo detryment. 133

[20]

Tenants should have security of tenure,

Heere too wryte all too this mattier meanynge
I cannot compase or caste thuttermuste:
but ferdre I shall yeat tuche this wone thinge:
as shalbee pleasinge too your grace I truste. 137
Let not of yours wone another owte thruste
furthe of his lyuynges, his Lease, or his holde:
Bes publica thearat her harte wexithe colde. 140

¹ Wealthy, miserly person.

[21]

A pooreman whiche hathe bothe children & wief,
 whoe (withe his parentes) vppon a poore Cotte
 hathe theare manured¹ manye a mannys Lief,
 and trulye payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte : 144
 A Couetous Lorde whoe Conscience hathe notte,
 by rent enhauncynge or for more large fyne,
 suche wone too caste owte : it goethe oute of lynae. 147

leaf 87.
 and not be liable
 to pay heavy fines
 for their leases.

[22]

This too bee seene too : the Publike weale criethe :
 of reformation it sittethe your Office :
 manye iniuries too the poore pliethe,
 done by the bygger without all Justice. 151
 As the great fowle the small dothe supprise,
 deuour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone :
 so farethe the riche if they bee let alona. 154

A king should see
 that the weak are
 not oppressed by
 the strong,

[23]

That Kynge (bee sure) can neauer bee poore :
 wheare as his Commons lyueth walthelye.
 if they bee not able to keepe open doore ;
 it muste withe hym then but small multiplye ; 158
 ffor kynge of their Commons sumtyme muste ayde trye.
 The more therfore the publike weale dothe afflowe ; 160
 the more is their wealth : this reason prouethe nowa.

for where the
 people are rich
 a king can never
 be poor :

[24]

And true it is, the highe Opificer
 sendethe not his giftes too wone pertycularlye :
 but that a multytude wone withe other,
 the same shoulde particypate mutuallye. 165
 Sithe hee althinges heere dothe make too multiplye
 too thande aforesaide, O kynge, of God electe,
 see then the same stonde in her full effects. 168

neither did God
 send His gifts for a
 few, but for all.

¹ Laboured with his hands, cultivated.

leaf 57, back.

Howe a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes the moother of
all myschief and too ordayne meany's too haue his
subiectis euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to
the maytenaunce of theire owne lyuynges and
furtheraunce of the common weale, that the ydle
shall not deuour that which y^e diligent doth truly
get by the labour of their sweate. *Caput. 19.*

[1]

Of Idleness, that
hideous serpent,

[L]ESTE kinges & gouernours that heere dothe rule
myght this neglecte, whiche is expedyent,
wee shall make remembraunce in this schedule
of ydlenes, that hydeouse serpent, 172
whoe, loighteringe like a peasaunt pestilant,
Lurkethe in corners vnoccupied :
too doo anye goode : lothe too bee espiede. 175

[2]

which deuours the
fruit of honest
labour :

This beastelye bodye, this mawltische¹ matrone,
douwres of the true laborers frute :
of nature desirethe too bee let alone : 179
as too contynue in her maners brute.
Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute,
and what els longeth too Lustis dalyaunce,
she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce. 182

[3]

turning day into
night and night
into day.

The daye in too the nyght shee can conuerte :
the nyght into daye for dalyaunce sake.
too playe is shee preste, woorke is a deserte : 186
too hiere therof tawlike herr harte will not wake.
Whoe, too herr compenye shee maye onys take,
for seauyn yearys after I dare the truthe mooue ;
the woorser husbonde hee shall surelye prooue. 189

[4]

leaf 58.
Where Idleness
exists there can be
no profit.

Or bee it woman, in like maner wise,
no profite risethe wheare shee dothe frequent :
but propagation of vice owte of vice : 193
the prooife shall shewe practice moste euydent,
Let loyterers lyue as they are content
and they shall plucke too their societee
feloashippe that neuer will after goode bee. 196

¹ Gluttonous.

[5]

Yowthe, brought vpp ydllye in games and pastyme.
 not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes :
 As vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme :
 so farethe withe all that loouethe ydlenes ; 200
 of all maner myschief shee is Patrones.
 againste whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclaime :
 by plage too punysche this ydlenes by nama. 203

Young persons
 brought up in
 idleness will
 never apply
 themselves to
 honest labour.

[6]

What kynge is hee in this worlde so greate,
 or Potentate els fewe or manye :
 what Clarke also in his studyous seate :
 or whoe that hathe too gouernaunce anye, 207
 but moste their tyme liste not too dallye
 withe ydlenes heere mentioned ?
 then of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped. 210

Kings and all in
 authority have no
 time for idleness ;

[7]

Kynges can no les but compace searche and caste ;
 how too proude for the publike weale ;
 the same too contynue in State Stedfaste :
 as too eache partie true Justice too deale. 214
 Oother Magistrates hauynge like zeale.
 vnto their Offices dwe admystration :
 shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion ? 217

then why should
 laxy vagabonds be
 allowed ?

[8]

Ffor reformation of suche nowghtye packes
 bee it proclaimed vnto their earys all :
 that whoe endeuorethe any suche knackes :
 at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall, 221
 tables, or dyce, or that Cardis men call.
 or what oother game owte of season dwe :
 let them bee punysched without all rescue. 224

leaf 15, back.
 Frequenting of
 ale-houses and
 gambling should
 be severely
 punished.

[9]

Owte of season in this sorte too bee take,
 when dayes of labour are presently come :
 eache man too his Arte his voyage too take
 withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome,¹ 228
 It is Cyuyle iustice and no thraldome.
 for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too flee :
 so is man too woorke olde writings tellethe mee. 231

for man's lot is to
 labour.

¹ Sulk or look gloomy.

[10]

Kings should
 exert themselves
 to abolish idleness,
 which only
 ends in poverty.

Trulye I wolde in all that mee listhe,
 wright all I cowlde this vice tabolische,
 for ydlenes all vertue despisethe,
 wheare honeste exercise the lief dothe polische 235
 thearfor all kynges I doo admonysche
 heereunto too geue goode aduertence :
 for noughtes it breedithe but wretched indigence. 238

[11]

The young should
 all be taught some
 handicraft.

As in honeste Artis wee wolde haue occupied :
 eaueryman after his Vocation :
 so wolde wee haue Youthe too Vertue applied,
 that are not readye for occupation, 242
 of hande crafte too use thadmynistration ;
 infantes I mean Vndre Eight yearis of age :
 their tyme I wolde thus too bee put in Vsage, 245

[12]

leaf 18.
 Children should
 be put to school
 at four years of
 age.

At fowre yearis olde let suche too scoole bee sett,
 too gather and lerne some literature :
 bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett
 too hym that is Authour of eache creature, 249
 bye readinge (in booke) his will and pleasure ;
 for whos so listethe to remembraunce call,
 too woorkes in that age their powre is but small. 252

[13]

Schoole to be free
 to any who cannot
 pay the fees.

Leste some, perhaps, at this myght thus obiecte,
 The pooreman his childe cannot so prefer :
 bycawse hee hathe not substaunce in effecte
 for so longe season to fynde his scoler, 256
 as (for his schoolinge) too paye his Maister ;
 to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee :
 in eauery towne the Scoole too go free. 259

[14]

The clergy to
 teach in the
 schools,

Suche townes whiche hathe a Curate to bee ment
 ducties too persolue that bee spirituall :
 whome, too bee ydle weare inconuenient,
 beyonde all oother, eauen the wurste of all, 263
 thearfore, to teache it dothe their office fall,
 and bringe vpp yowthe to saye, to singe, or write :
 that God too serue, they after maye delite. 266

[15]

and to receive
 suitable salary
 for so doing.

Suche honeste Stipende towardis hym to remayne,
 that for his paynes hee nothinge scholde expecte :

for so longe tyme as afore dothe contayne.
mee thynkethe this sowndethe too goode effecte, 270
If, vnto Office they after bee electe,
when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,
their Princis pleasure they maye bettre followe. 273

[16]

When they hathe knowledge indifferentlye so,
too oother Artis then maye theye bee preferde :
and not loyteringe ydlalye too go :
thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde :¹ 277
Thearfore, this lesson I wolde to bee harde,
in Townes, (goode ordre too schyne and florische :)
this obseruation I wolde gladiye wische. 280

leaf 89, back.
Children, after
they have left
school, not to be
allowed to idle
about,

[17]

An Ouerseer, Controwler to bee calde,
to see vnoccupied none to remayne :
vnles they bee withe sicknesses appalde,
or by debilitie of Age ouerlayne. 284
If case theare bee too punysche them by payne
of Stockes or scowrginges whiche suche maye compell
to earne their fooode els to haue no morsell. 287

on pain of being
placed in the
stocks.

[18]

And the saide Officer to haue by ffee
owte of the towne Coafer thre or fowre pownde :
that for suche Stipende the rather maye hee
to thexecution thearof bee bownde. 291
If in Thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,
to bee depryued withe reproache and shame :
and neuer againe too entren the sama. 294

An officer to be
appointed to look
after young
persons,

[19]

In thelection of suche Ouerseer,
this owght (and muste) firste consydrede bee :
that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beer,
and hathe a zeale too Cyuile equitye, 298
Too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see :
but wone yeares space let hym thearin endure
excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 301

who must be a
townsman of good
character.

[20]

True it is no luyngge man this daye
can presentlie for the publike weale frame
so syncerelie the vttermuste too saye,
that maye bee breache or staye too the same, 305

leaf 89.
Fresh regulations
to be made as
occasion may
require,

¹ Marred, damaged.

inviolable too byde withoute blame :
but, as tyme wearithe (mannys maners vued)
so muste Custome and lawe bee renued. 308

[21]

and as may best
suit the condition
of the people.

The soyle and people consydered also,
That will not serue heere that seruithe elswheare :
some hathe Commoditeis, some lesse, some mo ; 311
which dothe the Chargis of the publike weale beare,
bye Merchaundise conueyde heere and theare,
As, heere in Englande wone speciall haue wee : 314
Woolle, for whiche manye greate sustours hither bee.

[22]

Foreigners resp
all the profit from
wool,

Off whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade,
(the Judgementis of better not offendyd)
I wolde it weare duelie consyderede :
howe fforyners by Woolle are Assendyd, 319
and owre weale publike little amendyd,
for, by owre Woolle of Christians and Turke 321
thowsandis thowsandis hathe daylie handye wurke.

[23]

while Englishmen
have to buy it
back at sixfold
price.

And wee the same of them agayne to bye,
sixefolde doble price moare then of them had wee :
Oh ! some witt politike shewe reason whye
myght not the same heere so perfected bee, 326
wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditee ?
If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied :
how sholde owre Commons then bee occu[p]yed ? 329

[24]

leaf 68, back.
The sight of so
many beggars and
vagrants

So manye Beggars sholde not reigne as reigne ;
so manye Headye sholde not for conforte crye ;
so manye Rouers sholde not vse the pleyne ;
so manye sholde not then lyue ydlelye, 333
A few to profyte, to hynderaunce of manye ;
As Thowsandis to lacke and Twentie to abownde,
Oh, howe it geauethe a myserable sownde ! 336

[25]

ought to induce
the rich to try to
improve the
condition of the
poor.

Moste worthie it is A kynge to excell,
in honowre, richesse, and glorye decorate :
Lordys (in degre) in woorthynes to dwell,
withe Gentyls also as sittethe their estate : 340
and they to the meane to communycate,
that theye maye lyue bothe Childrene and wife :
and them not to streyne by meanys excessife. 343

[26]

The Pooreman to toyle for twoe pence the Daye,
 some while thre haufpence, or els a peny :
 hauynge wief childrene and howse rent to paye :
 meate clothe and fewell withe the same to bye, 347
 and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye,
 withe manye a hungrye meale susteynyng :
 Alas ! makethe not this a doolefull compleynyng ! 350

How can a poor
 man keep his
 family and pay
 his rent on two-
 pence a day ?

[27]

The worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
 not to the better but to the warrese farre :
 more for a peny we haue before seene
 then nowe for fowre pence, whoe liste to compare. 354
 This suethe the game called makynge or marre.
 Vnto the Riche it makethe a great deale,
 but muche it marrethe to the Commune weale. 357

And now prices
 haue risen four-
 fold.

[28]

Too reyse his Rent alas it needethe not,
 or fyne texacte for teanure of the same
 fowrefolde dooble, it is a shrewde blot :
 to the greates hynderaunce of some mennys name, 361
 I knowe this to bee true els weare I to blame,
 to mooue this mateir in this present booke :
 at whiche Respublica lookethe a-crooke. 364

leaf 61.
 and landlords
 demand fourfold
 rents and fines

[29]

A Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,
 of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither :
 ffynynge for the same vnreasonablye,
 sixe tymes the Rent ; adde this togyther, 368
 muste not the same great Dearth bringe hither ?
 for if the ffermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent,
 he muste his ware neadys sell after that stant. 371

so that the farmer
 has to raise his
 prices in propor-
 tion.

[30]

So for that Oxe, whiche hathe beene the like solde
 for ffortie shealingis, nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
 yea, seayn is more, I haue herde it so tolde.
 hee cannot els lyue so deere as in his grownde, 375
 Sheepe, thoughte they neauer so plentie abownde,
 suche price they beare, whiche shame is to here tell,
 that sace the pooreman can bye a morsell.¹ 378

Beef and mutton
 too are so dear
 that a poor man
 cannot afford a
 morsel.

¹ "Howe loyne they Lordeahyp to Lordeahyppe, manner to manser, ferme to ferme, land to lande, pasture to pasture, house to house, and house for a vantage? Howe do the rysh

[31]

The smallest bit
of beef or mutton
now costs four-
pence.

Twoe pence (in Besif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in Mutton, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kered :
so goethe hee and his to bedde hungrelye, 382
and risethe agayne withe ballies emptie ;
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrakyn. 385

[32]

leaf 61, back.
Want of animal
food weakens
Englishmen.

Where they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy, & stowte,
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate,
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte, 389
as hitherto manlye they holde the chief seate ;
if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they in penurye thus pende
shall not bee able thye Royalmes to defende. 392

[33]

who can't live on
roots or any such
beggary rubbish.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rootis,
by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :
gesue Englische men meate after their olde vsage, 396
Besif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande. 399

men, and specially suche as be shepemongers
Shepe mongers. oppresse the kynges lyege people by denouryng
theyr commune pastures wyth theyr shepe, so that the poore
people, are not able to kepe a cowe for the comforte of them
and of theyr poore famylye, but are lyke to starue and peryshe
for hunger, yf there be not prouision made shortly ! What
shepe ground scapeth these caterpyllers of the commune weale ?
Howe swarme they wyth aboundaunce of flockes of shepe ? and
yet when was wool euer so dere, or mutton of so great price ?
If these shepemongers go forthe as they begyn, the people shall
both miserablye dye for colde, and wretchedly peryshe for
honger. For these gredy woulues and comberous cormerauntes,
wyll eyther sell theyr woll and theyr shepe at theyr owne pryce
or els they wyll sell none.

" Oh what a diuersytye is thys in the sale of wolles, a stone
of woll somtyme to be solde at viii grots and now for viii s !
And so lykewyse of the shepe. God haue mercy on vs. If
the kynge hys maiestye, wyth hys most honourable counsell
do not prouyde for the redresse of these thynges, God hymselfe

wyll surelye as a remedye, as he sayeth by the
Psalmographe ' for the wretchednes of the nedye
and the bewaylynge of the pore euen nowe wyll I ryse, sayeth
the Lorde.' "—Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, 154— ;
Works, ed. 1564, Vol. II. fol. xv.

[A space left here for a heading to the chapter.]

[1]

The Tytle heere nowe whearon wee entreate,
 bicawse it dothe suche weightynes contayne :
 A publike Weale, whiche is a matter greate :
 Wee shall denyde it into lessons twayne, 403
 declaringe as serueth my symple brayne,
 howe, thorowe God and yowe his Mynyster,
 thinges owte of frame maye bee brought in order. 406

How things out of
 frame may be
 remedied.

[2]

Iff that I heere speake bee to no purpose,
 perdon I haue aske for my symplenes :
 If it maye serue withowte coment or glose :
 moste happelie then seruiethe this busynes, 410
 Eache mannys writingis dothe not althinges redresse,
 accordinge as his trauelinge dothe tell :
 thoughte this like so : yea wolde I althinges well. 413

leaf 62.

[3]

Too saye howe ydlennesse maye bee expellyd,
 and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,
 somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd :
 for the readyue wee shall nowe heere frame. 417
 Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,
 thoughte oother thinges moe geauithe assistance : 419
 yea Woolle (for this tyme) shall haue preamynence.

Wool is the chief
 support of
 Englishmen.

[4]

The Woolle that Staplelers dothe gather and packe,
 owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne :
 bee it reuoked and stayed abacke,
 that owre Cloathiers the same maye retayne, 424
 all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,
 vppon the same to exercise their feate :
 by tuckyng, cardinge, spyunnyng, and to beate. 427

It should not be
 allowed to be
 exported raw,

[5]

Weauynge, fullinge, withe Dyinge (if theye liste)
 and what sorte els to Cloathing dothe belonge :
 by suche true handelinge that nothings bee myste, 430
 whiche myght challenge their workinge to bee wronge ;
 that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,
 thorowe Christendome or heathenes grownde : 433
 no fawte there bee in the Workemanshippe fownde.

but worked up in
 England.

[6]

leaf 68, back.
There should be
no false dealing in
manufacture of
cloth.

Shrynked befoare and perfected at full,
Gaged and sealed iustelye as it is :
if it bee fawtie in woorkinge or in wooll,
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to this, 438
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amysse,
for owre false dealinge owre Cowntrey tappeache :
what the Salye-man is the ware ofte dothe teache. 441

[7]

Every towne and
village should
haue its cloth
factory.

No Towne in Englande, Village, or Burrowe,
but thus withe Cloathing to bee occupied :
thoughe not in eache place cloathing cleane throwe :
but as the Towne is, their parte so applied ; 445
Heere Spynners, heere weyers, theare clothes to be
died,
withe fullers and shearers as bee thought beste :
as the Cloathier maye haue his Cloathe dreste. 448

[8]

The cloth to be
sold to English
dealers.

When they haue groaced vnto a some,
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall :
owre Englische Merchauntes by custome to come,
and them receaue to ouer withe all ; 452
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,
by forayne Merchauntes as they haue agreeede :
Moneye receaued ; god geue them goode speede. 455

[9]

A fair export duty
to be leuied on
cloth.

Heere is not meaned the kinges maiestee
his Custome to loase or thearof wone Joate
that heeretofore accustomed hathe bee :
but hee to haue still the vtremuste groate ; 459
Befoare they hense passe by Shippinge a-float.
the Cloathes knowne what of a Packs dothe come ;
and thearto accordinge to paye Custome. 462

[10]

leaf 68.

Withe all other duties in euerye place,
both vnto his grace and oother also :
as of conuenyence sittithe the case :
wee will by no meanys theare againste go. 466
but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,
whiche withe Conscience is muche agreeable,
That Woolle maye bee at a price reasonable. 469

[11]

Wool to be sold
at from ten to

The leaste price to bee (the Todde accowntinge)
not vndre Ten shelinges (beeing no refuse) :

The beste ~~flyetene shealinges~~ not surmowntinge: after shillings
a tod.
 betwene theise pricis Conuention to vse. 473
 Theise pricis to lymyte let noman muse,
 it hathe beene so seene att within twentie yearis: 475
 and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

[12]

But heere liethe a mateir muche Difficulta,
 whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force,
 though I with manye sholde thearin consulte,
 and crye theare vppon cauyn till wee weare horse. 480
 Pryuate Commoditye withe Commone wealthe to scorse:¹
 as Rentis to come downe from owterage so hye
 too Price indifferent to helpe manye bye. 483

Rents must be
lowered,

[13]

This raginge Rentis muste bee loked vppon,
 and brought vnto tholde accustomed Rente,
 as they weare let att fortie yearis agone:
 then shalbe plentie and moste men content, 487
 thoughe greate Possessioners liste not tassent:
 Yeate, bettere it weare their Rentis to bringe vndre, 489
 then Thowsandis Thowsandis to perische for hungre.

and fixed at what
they were 40 years
before.

[14]

In whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take,
 discret men of youre counsell too assigne
 that wilbee corrupted for no mannys sake:
 and theye withe helpe their endeuor tenclyna, 494
 ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne.
 Growndis and ffermys to peruse and surueye:
 Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weye. 497

leaf 62, back.
Commissioners to
be appointed to
value all farms,

[15]

And as their Wisedoms (withe Conscience) shall see
 (the soyle consydered, barrayne or fertyle)
 the Owners (by them) ordered too bee
 their Rentis tabete, enhaunced so longe while. 501
 Pryuate Commoditye to put to exile,
 ratynge the same indifferentlie so:
 the ffermers to lyue and by them oother moe. 504

and to fix the
rents.

[16]

Not in thraldome and pynchinge penurye,
 to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis;
 but as yeomen becomeethe honestlye,
 and of Goddys lawe conuenyatethe the conchordia. 508
 at too muche bondage Englische hartis remordis.

The English
yeomanry to be
supported,

¹ Bargain, exchange.

for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye,
hee muste then make of Englands Yeomanrye. 511

[17]

since they are the
chief stay of the
country.

Ffor they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,
whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo
speciallye withe moste intentife harte :
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo, 515
the myndis of whome they can no better woo,
(to lyue and dye in furtheringe their enquestis)
then to see mayntened their olde entrestis. 518

[18]

leaf 64.
Exaction of fines
for leases to be
stopped.

Suche poore lyuynges as their fathers dyd enioye,
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue,
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye :
when hee for a lyuyng shall easermore sue, 522
and withe now assuraunce hym-selfe can indue,
Custome nor Copie can keepe hym In sace :¹
if fawnynges flyne attemptethe his lordis grace. 525

[19]

Oppressive land-
lords will all go
to the devil,

Thoughe he bee dyuyllische that byddeth for it so,
more diuyllische is hee that thearto dothe graunte :
And for their dooinges shall too the Dyuyll go :
els false vnto vs is Goddis couenaunte ; 529
for hee them cursethe and byddithe asuaunte,
that so procurethe his Neighbours lyvinge.
to see heereunto sittethe thoffice of A kinge. 532

[20]

since for lucre's
sake they force
poor farmers to go
a-begging,

Ffor what is it in fferme or Copye holde,
or oother samblable habitation,
owte of the same to bee bought and solde
for lucre's sake to the lordis contentation ? 536
the sealye Pooreman by suche euasion
withe wief and children so forced to go begge
so they maye profite they passe not an egge. 539

[21]

and take away
from him his
little plot of
ground.

Another disordre of oppression,
aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous.
A lorde geayn to pryuate affection,
lettinge the pooreman an olde rotten howse, 543
which hathe (to the same) profyttes commodious
As Close, and Common, with Lande in the feelde :
but noate well heere howe the pooreman is peelde. 546

¹ Scarcely, hardly.

[22]

The howse shall hee haue and A gardeyne plott,
but stonde hee muste to the reparation :
Close, Comon, or Londe fallithe none to his lott ;
that beste myght helpe to his sustentation. 550
the whoale Rente payethe hee for his habitation,
as though hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.
suche soare oppression neadethe speedye redresse. 553

leaf 64, back.
Commons are
enclosed, but the
rent is the same;

[23]

Though some will obiecte hee is the more Asse
so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome :
hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe :
els muste hee paye largelie for his Income. 557
To settle hym selfe place muste hee haue some ;
his wief and childrene in like maner wise,
Whoe for pure penurye, ofte waterethe their iysa. 560

for how can a
poor man help
himself?

[24]

Thus thorowe Rentes reysinge and pillinge the poore,
Pouertie regnethe and is induced muche :
compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore :
as (tyll owre tyme) hathe not beene herde of sucha. 564
Your highnes, O prince, this case dothe sore tuche,
for chiefie youre Crowne to this intent yee weare,
wronge to reforme that Equite may rule beare. 567

This is a matter
for the king to see
into.

[25]

No right it is the poore to bee so vsed,
and some to the Dyuyll thorough Richeesse to flytt,
Christian Charite of them refused :
which drowned Dyues in the deepe hall pytt, 571
More occasion to treate on this as yeitt,
is wheare some wone the lyuynges dothe possesse
of twoe thowsandis well knowne to bee nolesse. 574

One should not be
allowed to hold
the "livings" of
two thousand.

[26]

Firste in goode Rentes a thowsande powndis or more
in fermys and Abbeyes coequall to the same ;
Reuenues by sheepe thowsandis by tayle score,
Oxon, and Neate, greate multytude to name. 578
Personages of profites wondrefull in fame,
And yeat is as greadye more to procure :
as hym to mayntayne this weare but small sure. 581

leaf 65.
While the rich
hold farms and
abbey-lands
worth thousands
of pounds,

[27]

And what hee onys into his clampis catche maye,
the pooreman thearof no peece shall come bye ;

the poor man has
not even a plot on

xcviii* LORDS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENGAGE IN TRADE.

which to graze a horse. **Cowe Leayse, Horse grasse, or one load of Haye,**
 though hee before had theare for his monye, 585
 his chargis (hee saithe) are so passinge hye,
 that for hym selfe all is little ynowghe:
 yeat on his whoale growndis hee keapeth not one
 plowghe. 588

[28]

But yet he dare not open his lips. **To speake or repyne againste his fell factes,**
 Alas! theare dare none their lippes to open;
 the like togethers hathe dryuen suche compactes
 that truthe into an whoale is nowe copen, 592
 and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken:
 the more is the pite, Conscience knowithe.
 goode kinge, thearfore searche wheare suche Darnell¹
 growithe. 595

[29]

Lords should try to gain the love of the poor, **And set an ordre of reformation**
 that eache maye lyue to his gree accordinge;
Dukes and Lordis of highe domynation
 ouer the people to haue thordering, 599
 that the meane sorte abowte them borderinge
 maye lyue by them and their neighbours become
 by Christian loue, and not holde in thraldome. 602

leaf 65, back.

[30]

and not give themselves to trade, **For lordys and men of highe nobilitee,**
 or oother indude with the possessions greate,
 to vse thoffice of thinferior degree,
 to choppe and chaunge, aduantages to geate, 606
 as Merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate:
 or fermys tencroche whiche oother myght releue; 608
 suche doinges, (nodowbte,) dothe many hartes greeue.

[31]

thus causing poverty in the country. **I will not saye all that neadethe to be saide,**
 to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye:
 but by suche meanys **Common Wealthe** is decaide,
 and hathe (heere of late) cawsed great owte crye 613
 by muche disordre moste sclaunderouslye;
 cheif to them selves to woorke so withoute witt,
 and next to those that weare cawrsers of itt. 616

[32]

If their expenses are great, let them reduce them. **Iff great bee their charges, the wiseman ought**
 them to rebate accordinge to his stent²

¹ Coarse grass, weeds.

² Standing.

To keepe a porte, in hatrede to bee brought
thorowe meanys whiche are inconuenient : 620
hēke whos thearewithe will I will not assent.
bette is meane estate hauynge frindys manye
then highlie to ruffle¹ scace to fynde aye. 623

[33]

Moste merieste it is in eache Cowntrey
When euery degre obscurethe his dwe,
dame Justicis lawe trulie to obeys :
theare muste then needys great quietnes ensue. 627
And whears Diuision by grudge dothe reue
it breadethe nowght els but desolation
from all quyet Wealthe to dissipation. 630

Justice above all
preserves peace.

leaf 60.

[34]

And all this makethe the goodis of the worlde,
for that will men toyle for that will men scrache;
for that olde frendshippe shalbe all to-choride;²
the wone brother readye thother to dispache, 634
the soone with the father also to make,
by vtire diffiaunce his deathē to exopte, 636
thoughe thousandis fer the like hathe into hell dropte.

Men cannot liue
their riches with
them after death;

[35]

The highest of all that regueth in estate
hathe (in this worlde) but meate drinke and vesture :
then what dothe mennys myndis so intoxicate
inordynatlye to toyle for treasure; 641
purchacing thearbye so muche displeasure
bothe of God and their neighbours heere neadings, 643
whiche hungrethe ofte soare through their fatt feedings.

then why should
they so toll for
them?

[36]

Off this this tyme I will nomore entreate,
by wone woorde the wise perceauē can the whoale;
I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate :
the disposition, partelye and soale, 648
O noble kyngē, belongethe to youre doale,³
as to perceauē the Comonwealthes noyaunce
and for the same to deuise ordynaunce. 651

To see after all
this is the duty of
a king.

[37]

So that the Poore bee eauer seene vntoe,
the Riche hym selfe will sure saue harmelesse.
A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vndoe
and can no remedye againste distresse 655

¹ Show off. ² Utterly broken. ³ Share, portion.

but still susteyne the all busynesse,
 Though Drudges muste bee yeat Christian lous wolde
 that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde. 658

leaf 66, back.

[38]

To thresh all day
 for three-half-
 pence is a poor
 fee.

Too Thresche alldaye for peanye haulfe-peanye,
 and Delue in diches upp to the harde knees
 for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye?
 God wote it risethe but to a small feeis, 662
 with that he laiethe vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,
 and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall:
 for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all. 664

[39]

A labourer should
 be paid fairly for
 his work,

A laborer trulie doinge his duetye,
 (aswell the woman, I meane, as the man)
 let them haue for their traueile worthelye:
 so shall they delyte to doo what they can, 669
 els will they loighter euernowe and than,
 comptinge as goode to bee ydle vnwrought
 as soare to traueile and profite right nowght. 672

[40]

seuence or
 eightpence a day,
 according to the
 season.

So ordre that eache doinge their labour
 iustelie and trulie withe mooste diligence,
 may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,
 fyndinge them selves on shorteste daies sexpence, 676
 And oother lengre, as the Soone takethe ascense,
 seaun or eight pence; so shall they bee able
 meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their Cradle. 679

[41]

Sheep-farms
 should be abol-
 ished and built
 on;

And Townes let downe to grase Sheape vppon
 withe dwellinge howses as fermys and Abbeyes.
 reduced agayne to habitation,
 for lack of which muche lyuynge nowe decays 683
 and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.
 Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde
 if they had holdinges to coaser their hedde. 686

leaf 67.

[42]

then there would
 be room enough
 for all.

Off Journeyemen and Seruynge men also,
 withe oother dyuerse of oure owne nation
 that nowe a roauynge in oothers growndis go,
 to this Royalmys great depopulation; 690
 At whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation,
 burdeynynge your grace by othe that yee haue take
 of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make. 693

ENGLAND
IN THE
REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.
BY
THOMAS STARKEY.

PART II.
THE DIALOGUE.

